

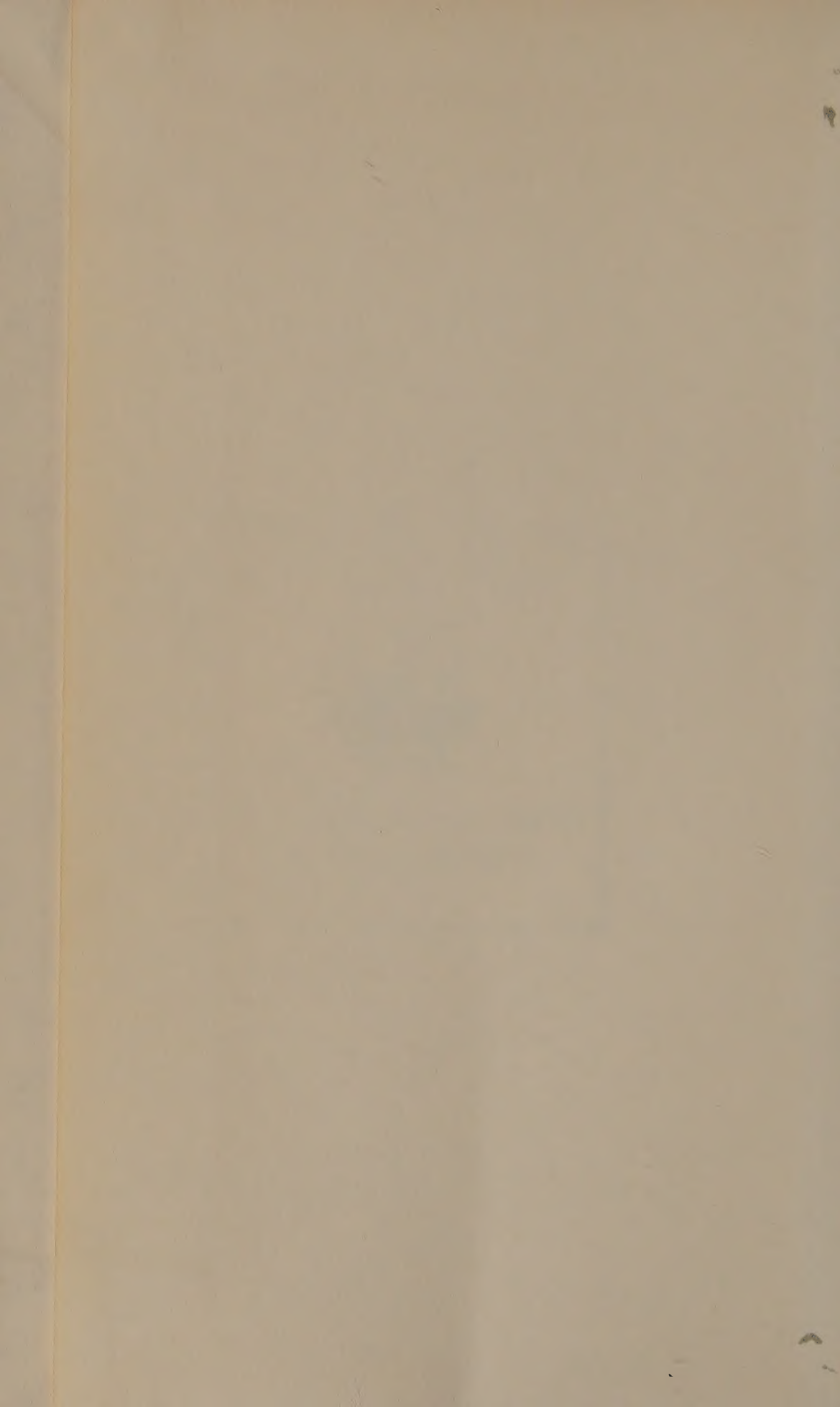


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# HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF NIUE

BY

EDWIN M. LOEB

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# History and Traditions of Niue

By

EDWIN M. LOEB

## INTRODUCTION

The following account of the ancient customs, history, and traditions of the people of Niue is based upon the results of field work done during seven months' residence on the island. I arrived in Niue, accompanied by my wife, Harriet Allison Loeb, on August 25, 1923, and remained until March 17, 1924.

Sincere appreciation is here extended to the Commissioner of the island, Mr. G. N. Morris, who as the representative of the New Zealand Government, aided my work by permitting me the use of all available government documents; to Mr. Robert Head, trader, who most generously used his influence with the natives to arouse interest in the work; to Mr. Arthur Head and Miss Ella Head, both of whom aided me greatly in acquiring a knowledge of the language. Miss Head throughout my stay collaborated with me in the translation of the written materials furnished by the natives. I cannot attempt to list the names of all the natives who assisted in the work. Most of those who actually wrote note books of information were retired teachers. Especially valuable information was given by Uea of Liku, Falani of Lakepa, Manamana of Tamakautoga, Toafolia of Tuapa, and Leotuki of Alofi. Uea, aided by his adopted son, Maka, rendered invaluable service in giving and collecting information. The Chief of Police of the island, Hipa, furnished the only original manuscript obtained, his family record. To the former commissioner of Niue, Mr. J. C. Evison, I am especially grateful for the use of a corrected dictionary of the language and other books and photographs of value. In the final preparation of this manuscript for publication, I am indebted to the staff of the Bishop Museum, to my wife, and to my sister-in-law, Miss Muriel Allison.

Most of the information available in Niue takes the form of stereotyped traditions, handed down from family to family. No living natives took part in the old life. Many of the native stories and songs, containing obsolete words and phrases, render them incomprehensible to the present generation.



However, the following chapters are based upon accounts written in native text by the natives themselves and illustrated by them, a method which made possible careful checking of the material both as to translation and fact. My informants have taken great pains to present an accurate account of their ancient history, recording surprisingly few inaccuracies and inconsistencies. And while first-hand information is not and never has been available for scientific study, I believe that the gleanings thus procured will throw light upon the early history of Niue and afford an insight into native psychology.

As an aid in the pronunciation of native names and texts, the following brief remarks adapted from Tregear and Smith (20)<sup>1</sup> appear necessary.

The vowels are pronounced as in the continental languages. Of the consonants, *g* is always nasal, as *ng* in sing; *l* often has the soft *r* sound; as used by the younger generation; *t* before *i* and *e* takes the sound and sometimes the form of *s*. The older generation, however, give this *t* a *ts* sound, like the *tsade* in Hebrew. Other consonants are pronounced as in English.

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<sup>1</sup> The numbers in parentheses refer to the Bibliography on page 226.



## GEOGRAPHY

### GENERAL RELATIONS

Niue (Savage) Island comprises 64,228 acres of coral-formed land, lying in latitude  $19^{\circ} 10'$  S., longitude  $169^{\circ} 17'$  W. Its nearest neighbor is Vavau Island, Tonga, 240 miles to the west. It is bordered by a fringing reef, here and there broken by channels which permit small vessels to approach the shore. At Alofi, a natural channel artificially widened and deepened, leads to a concrete wharf which serves as a landing place for boats dispatched from ships which anchor outside the reef. This landing place, the best that Niue affords, is safe during favorable weather, but from December to April the wharf is often under water and sailing vessels avoid the island.

The principal geographic features of Niue are well described by Smith (15, Vol. XI, p. 81).

The island is about 40 miles in circumference, the extremes of length and breadth being about 17 and 11 statute miles respectively, while its average height above sea level is about 220 feet. It belongs to that class termed a "raised coral island," and has a fringing reef (*uluulu*) quite close to the shore, the width of which is about 60 to 80 yards. Intersecting this reef in numerous places are narrow and often deep chasms (*ava*) which under ordinary circumstances, afford good landing places, at any rate on the leeward side, which is towards the west. On the east side, where the prevailing E. S. E. trade winds blow home for eight months out of the twelve, landing is extremely difficult, if not impossible.

The island has been raised by several efforts of the subterranean forces, as is plainly visible in the terraces which surround its shores. These elevations have been unequal in character and extent, and practically may be reduced to two. The earliest caused the central part of the island to rise about 130 feet, and thus it remained for ages, the wide terrace on which most of the villages now stand, being at that time the encircling or fringing reef. The other great elevation raised the island a further height of about 80 to 90 feet, since which little change appears to have taken place beyond the eating of the surf into the cliffs of coral. Where not occupied by reddish soil the surface of the island is extremely rocky, the grey weathered surface of the coral showing in fantastic rugged masses that make travelling off the paths very difficult indeed. The island may be likened to an inverted soup-plate, in which the rounded edge represents the lower terrace; the rim, the old margin of the lagoon; and the bottom, the level or undulating surface of the old lagoon. Coral (*feo*) is the only rock to be found on the island. There is no sign of volcanic rock.

Evidently the whole island was formerly covered by forest, though here and there the vegetation now degenerates into shrub, the forest apparently having been burned, and the land cultivated.

### CLIMATE

During my stay in Niue, August to March, the thermometer varied from  $65^{\circ}$  to  $98^{\circ}$  F. in the shade, and the humidity was high. During the "hurricane season," December to April, the heat is especially trying, but

rains during two of these months renders the atmosphere bearable. Niue is just on the border of the hurricane belt. It is visited by these calamities about once in ten years. In olden days the natives prepared their houses to withstand "severe blows" by fastening three extra poles to the sugar cane roofs on either side. Poles and weights are now leaned against the roofs in times of storms.

There is no running water on the island. The natives formerly drank brackish water in the caverns and the water from the coconuts. Both natives and whites are now dependent to a great extent upon the rain water which falls upon the corrugated iron roofs of buildings. Each village has a concrete tank attached to the church roof. (Unlike the Tongans, the natives of Niue have no scruples about drinking water that flows from church roofs.)

The average annual rainfall of Niue is sixty inches. Unfortunately, the greater part of this falls during two months, December and January, and nearly every year a drought occurs, when the taro wilts and is devoured by insects. In olden days a severe dry season was a great calamity, averted nowadays by the introduction of European foods. Most of the peculiar features of Niue culture, economic, social, and religious, have developed as a result of the frequent occurrence of drought (*to e tau la*).

#### POPULATION

The population of Niue has been decreasing steadily since early missionary days. This decline has now run its course. During the year 1922 the deaths a thousand were 21.69 and the births, 26.18. The excess of births over deaths was 17—10 male and 7 female children.

As estimated by the missionaries, the native population of Niue in 1875 was 5,080; in 1900, 4,200. The census of 1906 listed 3,800 natives. For 1921 the figure is 3,720 exclusive of about 200 natives absent on other islands.

At the present time the people live in the eleven villages along the coast. (See Pl. I in pocket.) In ancient times the population was scattered throughout the island as the fear of hostile troupes drove them to live in bush settlements or in caves. But the oldest records show that the villages of today even in the olden times were inhabited. Of Paluki, the sacred city in the center of the island, no trace is left. The distribution of population as recorded by the census of 1921 is shown in the following table.

## DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF 1921

VILLAGE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Lakepa .....	105	109	214
Mutalau .....	231	285	516
Hikutavake .....	89	146	235
Tuapa .....	172	223	395
Makefu .....	109	100	209
Alofi .....	362	401	763
Tamakautoga .....	109	119	228
Avatele .....	145	167	312
Fatiau .....	39	46	85
Hakupu .....	178	206	384
Liku .....	161	195	356
Other natives .....	7	15	22
Half castes .....	8	3	11
Whites .....	18	13	31
Total .....	1733	2028	3761

The six villages on the western side of the island are on the lower terrace described by Smith (15, Vol. XI, p. 83), and have ready access to the sea. Ships load at Alofi, the present capital, also at Tuapa and Avatele. Commenting on the fields connected with the villages, Smith states:

The cultivations (*māla*) of the people are generally situated away from the villages, often considerable distances. They are usually in newly-cleared land, and it is through this process of clearing that a good deal of the island is now in scrub, or a second growth of wood. The people pass most of their time away in the *vao*, or wilds, getting food, so that during the day few people are seen about the villages. They may be met each evening returning to their homes with all kinds of food carried on a pole over the shoulder (*hahamo*).

## ANIMAL LIFE

When Europeans first visited Niue, the only mammal (*manu*) on the island was the rat. The people had neither pigs nor dogs. At the present time the native rat (*kuma*) has disappeared, having been driven out by the Norway rat. The natives deny that they ever eat the rat, but they told Smith that their fathers did eat the animal. It is probable that in the olden times the rat was shot with bow and arrow; nowadays it is caught in traps made of a hollowed stick and a snare. The flying fox is now abundant on the island. Smith further states that the people of Niue had the chicken (*moa*) before the island was known to Europeans, but although chickens are now plentiful and with pork are eaten at feasts, there are no old traditions concerning them. A native account (p. 137) shows that the natives had a knowledge of chickens, and indicates, perhaps, that they raised them. Fish, birds, and other animals used for food are described on pages 96, 102-111.



## PLANT LIFE

The following partial list of trees (*akau*) and shrubs (*lakau*) of Niue is based on information received from my informant Namua and from the writings of Smith (15). Plants cultivated for food are described on pages 102-04.

**Al.** Bears a nut which Smith considers as good as the walnut; the gum is used for caulking canoes.

**Aloalo.**

**Ata.**

**Atatu.** Leaves now used for horsefeed; at one time the fungus from this tree was sent to China for food.

**Fa.** The Pandanus. Common in Niue. The leaves after drying in the sun and bleaching were woven into the fine tegitegi mats. At the present time the seed is eaten and also strung into necklaces and the leaves used in making hats and baskets. In times of famine the top of the tree was used for food.

**Fekakai.** "A medium sized tree bearing pretty crimson flowers, like the New Zealand Rata, and a very agreeable fruit coloured pink and yellow, in shape like an elongated apple." (Smith.)

**Fetaanu.**

**Fetau.**

**Fihoa.**

**Fou.** Yellow hibiscus. "The bark of this tree is used for string, for titi or kilts, and for other purposes." (Smith.) The wood is used for outriggers.

**Fue.**

**Foumamala.** "This is a handsome shrub, from the bark of which their fishing nets are made." (Smith.)

**Futi.** Banana trees.

**Futu.**

**Gahu.**

**Gate.** The coral tree.

**Hooto.**

**Ili.** The Tahitian chestnut; not plentiful in Niue.

**Kafika.** "The Kafika is the finest timber tree, and it is very common, growing to a height of 150 feet or more, with a diameter up to 4 or 5 feet. It is a very useful timber tree with tall straight stems, the wood of a light brown color." (Smith.)

"This tree is a very useful tree, because its wood is very hard, the wood is as hard as pine wood. The people made their houses from this tree in the olden times. They also ate the fruit of this tree. They also used the juice from the tree for the dyeing of their hiapo (tapa cloth). The people, however, were not as clever as the Samoans in the making of hiapo." (Namua.)

**Kahame.**

**Kalaka.** "The Kalaka is so like the New Zealand Karaka in its habit that one might be mistaken for the other at a short distance, but they are of a different species." (Smith.)

**Kanai.**

**Kanukuata.**

**Kanumea.** "This is another large tree. The bark of this tree is smooth. Its diameter is 12 feet, and its height 60 feet. The people eat the small fruit from this tree. The wood from this tree would be very useful for the making of boards, but the tree is not used up to the present day. The people of the

olden days thought that this was a good tree. When it bore blossoms they planted food in their kaina [plantation]. Then they said, "The kaina is blooming with Kanumea'." (Namua.)

**Kapihi.** "A fern whose leaves turn bright yellow when dry, and are therefore much used by the natives for ornamental purposes in their dress on gala occasions." (Smith.)

**Kava-vao.** A species of Piper. The infusion from its roots is not partaken of by the natives at the present day.

**Kieto.** The wood of the kieto resembles ebony. "This is a very large tree. When this tree rotted, it was the custom of the toa [warriors] to prepare their barbed spear heads from its core. They also picked the berries of this tree in order to poison the fish. This plan was called aukava." (Namua.)

**Koka.** Used for building houses. From it was made a dark red war paint. Perhaps the dye from this tree was used in coloring the outside of war implements.

**Kovivao.**

**Lala.**

**Le.** Said to be an introduced tree. Its broad leaves are used to cover up the ovens; the wood is used in making canoes and boards.

**Lehau.**

**Lologo.** A palm tree, bearing large fruit, which grows in the center of the stem where the leaves sprout; it is like a gigantic pineapple in appearance.

**Luku.** "A very handsome plant (?fern), the bright shiny leaves of which grow sometimes to a length of 6 feet, with a width of 6 inches. There are two species known to the natives—Luku-fua, the leaves of which are eaten, it has the midrib green; and the Luku-la-ua, of which both roots and leaves are eaten, it has the mid-rib black." (Smith.) The luku leaf was employed in the building of a certain kind of house.

**Maile.** A species of hibiscus. It is a pretty creeper with red blossoms but without perfume. The blossoms are used for necklaces; the wood was formerly used for fishhooks.

**Mamalava.**

**Manono.**

**Mati.** "A small tree, bearing on its stem rows of reddish fruit very like one of the species of mandarin orange, the fruit of which is little larger than a pea." (Smith.)

**Moea.** "A small tree, but it has very hard wood. Its bark is used for making the loops on top of the fish-nets." (Namua.)

**Mohuku.** A fern.

**Moota.** "The Moota or Maota is a very fine tree used in canoe making, with very handsome foliage like the shumach—it appears to me to be identical with the Samoan Maota." (Smith.)

**Niu.** The coconut tree.

**Nonu.** (*Morinda citrifolia*.) The natives formerly ate the fruit of this tree in times of famine. It is still at times used as food.

**Oluolu.** "This is a tree with hard, white, close grained wood." (Smith.) It was used for making war weapons, the katoua and the ulu-fua-miti.

**Ovava.** The banyan tree. "The largest and highest tree on the island. The branches droop down and form small roots on the ground. These small roots were useful to the people of former times, for they made cord from them. Fishing lines were also made from the roots. This tree is not able to rise from the ground by itself, but it delights to be near another tree, so that it can cling to it and rise above it. It is a very strong tree, it can squeeze



another large tree to death. The people have made up this parable (kupu fakatai)—concerning the ovava, they say that people with many relatives about them are strong people. They are like the top of this tree. For the ovava stands with many roots and it gives forth an abundance of leaves." (Namua.)

**Paka.**

**Palatao.** "A fern very like the New Zealand partao, and very probably a variety of the same species." (Smith.)

**Pao.** In Eastern Polynesia, the word toa is used to designate the ironwood tree (Casuarina) and also a warrior. In Niue, the word is applied to a warrior, the application to Casuarina is lacking.

**Piu.** The fan palm. In the olden days the leaves were used to keep hiapo dry. The modern term for umbrella is piu.

**Polo.** A solanum tree. There are four species on the island.

**Pomea.** A prickly creeper with very pretty red and black seeds used for necklaces.

**Pua.**

**Pualiki.**

**Puka.** "There is a Puka and a Puka-tea, both trees of some size, the latter not unlike the Puka-tea of New Zealand." (Smith.)

**Pupukalei.** An orchid.

**Tak.** A palm.

**Tamanu** (fetau).

**Tanetane.**

**Talotalo.** A lily-like plant with a head of sweet-scented white flowers.

**Tava.** A large tree with edible fruit.

**Tavahi.** "A common tree, with handsome foliage somewhat like the Maota, and also like the locust or thorny acacia of Africa." (Smith.)

**Telie.**

**Tete.**

**Ti.** The *Dracaena*. There are five species in Niue.

**Tiale.** Two varieties appear on Niue. The tiale proper (*Gardenia*) is the more common and has a sweet scent; the tiale-tafa has a handsome tubular white scentless flower. The scented tiale flower was worn in necklaces, and formed the theme of many songs.

**To.** The sugar cane.

**Togo.**

**Tohi-hune.** "A mimosa-like tree, probably identical with the Toromiro of Rarotonga." (Smith.)

**Toi.** "The Toi is useful for its wood of a mahogany color; it is not at all like the Toi of New Zealand, the foliage being not unlike the New Zealand Pomadarris Tainui, and the fruit half an inch in diameter, purple in color." (Smith.)

**Tokitoki.**

**Tuali.** "This is another very large tree, but is not made use of. It was considered a good sign when this tree bore blossoms, for the people then planted their food and went down to the sea to catch fish. Fish were then in abundance. They called these fish 'The home of the Tuali Blooming.'" (Namua.)

**Tuitui.** The candlenut. "The seeds are used for lights by threading them on a stick, and the soot from them in marking the hiapo." (Smith.)

**Va.** "A kind of cane, or liana, that sometimes reaches the very tops of trees 120 feet high." (Smith.)

**Vi.** The Brazilian plum. An introduced tree.

Many of the shrubs and trees of Niue are mentioned in native legends. The *tiale*, in particular, is celebrated.

Namua recited this tale:

The *Tiale* drove the *Togo* [an unknown plant] out of Tonga. For the *Togo* said, "You stay here, and I will go, then see if you can find me."

The *Tiale* replied, "Very well then, begone!"

The *Togo* fled to Niue, and when it arrived it settled in Alofi. It went down to live in the cave at Vailoa where the water was shallow. Suddenly it turned and looked up. Oh! There was the *Tiale* standing above on the stones! So the *Togo* arose and fled.

The *Togo* next settled in the water at Vehuetu in Liku. But when the *Tiale* arrived there it fled to Avatele and went to live at Tapa. But the *Tiale* soon followed. The *Togo* then fled to Hakupu and going down it entered a cave. It lived there a long time and attached its feet into the stones. It foolishly thought that it was hidden. Then it turned to look up. Oh! The *Tiale* had arrived! The *Togo* died in that water, and the water was called *Togo*.

From that day until the present time there have been no more *Togo* on the island.

## PLACE NAMES

### THE NAME OF THE ISLAND

Niue is the common name by which the island is known to its inhabitants and to the people of the neighboring islands. (See p. 12 for tradition.) On formal occasions and in songs *Niue-fekai* is used. The meaning of the word *fekai* is in dispute. My informant Uea believes it is the old form of the modern word *kakai*, and that *Niue-fekai* may be translated as "Niue all around the people." Moleni, a native of Avatele, writes, "Huanaki [an early voyager to the island] and the chiefs of the island: Motutefua, Nukututaha, Fakahoa, Nukulei, Teveifualala, Teveimatagi and Motuole named this island *Niue-fekai*." I believe that Moleni has converted the old names of the island into the names of chiefs. Smith (15, Vol. XI, p. 81) believes that *Nuku-tu-taha* (Island-that-stands-by-itself) is the oldest name of the island and that it was bestowed by Huanaki.

Another old name is *Motu-te-fua*, which Smith translates "The island without fruit, or offspring." In making this translation, *te* is considered as a negative, contrary to native usage. The natives consider *tefua* one word, the modern form of which is *tufua*, and translate *tufua* as "isolated" and not as "sterile." Falani writes, "this island was by itself [*koe motu tufua*] and no other islands were near it. It stood alone because they thought that Niue was the only island in the world, seeing that the sky touched the sea as far out as the eye could reach. These were the thoughts of the people in the olden days."

The Niueans have a very strong tradition that Niue and Tonga were

once connected by land and that friendly relations existed between the two islands in early days. This land bridge, long since sunk below the waves, is called Fonua Galo, the place from which the early immigrants to Niue came. Although no definite locality is indicated by the word Tonga (this term is applied by the Niueans to any foreign place) there is evidence to show that the existence of other islands was known. The natives of Niue had frequent intercourse with people from other islands and thus obtained stones for adzes and weapons.

Another old name for Niue is Fakahoa-motu (*faka*, the Niue causative; *hoa*, the term for flower; and *motu*, the ordinary Polynesian word for island). I was told that this name was given because the people of Niue were friendly with the people of Tonga in the olden days. The fifth ancient name for the island is Nuku-tuluea. Uea translated it as "Island that grew up by itself." A modern name is Savage Island, given by Captain Cook in 1774.

In the minds of the natives, the northern part of Niue, called Matafonua (the front of the land) or more commonly Motu, is distinguished from the southern part, known as Mui-fonua or Tafiti. (See map Pl. I.) The division line extends from Fakaleaina, south of Alofi, across the island to Liku. The people of the two parts of the island were frequently at war with one another in the olden days and the early voyagers noted what appeared to be a racial difference between the two populations, the people of Tafiti being more Melanesian in type. It is said also that there was at one time a slight difference in the dialects. One surviving difference is that the people of Avatele use the word *kaukau* (to swim), while elsewhere on the island the word *koukou* is used.

#### NAMES OF LOCALITIES

Matapa chasm, situated near Hikutavake, is a famous swimming place used in the olden days by kings. A story relates that a man by the name of Puatau climbed the eastern side of this chasm carrying two baskets of wild yams (*hoi*), then he came down and reascended carrying his wife and children. No one today would care to make the trip, even unburdened.

Talava is another famous spot near Hikutavake. Here the sea has so eaten into the cliffs as to leave a perfectly rounded natural archway of solid rock.

Tuo, near Mutalau, has a rock which rings like a bell when struck, and a depression in the rocks where the rain collects in a shallow pool, forming a mirror (*ata*). At this place it is said mothers hurled their babies from the cliffs into the sea.



The map of Niue (Pl. I) and the list of place names (pp. 14-22) are compiled with the knowledge that many old names have dropped out of use. Place names change in the same manner as the names of people. An important event transpiring at some particular spot gives rise to a new name. In Niue many places have acquired new names from the fact that a warrior fell on the spot. Pavaha, Kulahulu, Patuutu, and Fakatelefolau are the names of four men killed in a battle between Motu and Tafari at the fort Ugauga, near Fataia. Likewise Fatuatau is named for a warrior killed at the Lalokafika Road near Liku.

Many place names are descriptive of some particular feature. The spot on which I lived, near Alofi, has two names, Fetuna and Anakule (cave of the kule bird). That this place had also a third name is shown by this story:

There was a man from Lakepa whose name was Manatoga. He had twelve children and he lived at Fetuna. He prepared a *male* [cleared space] and taught his children how to throw the *tika* and how to run. His *male* was very long, and he therefore called the place Maleloa [*long male*].

The natives forget the original meanings of many place names and supply the loss by inventing stories. I believe that the following stories of Tapa are fictitious:

A man travelled around the island on the sea. He came to the eastern side so as to meet another man who came by the western route. The man who came by the eastern side was thrown up by the waves against the rocks at Tapa. His stomach burst and he died. Then that point was called Tapa [burst].

A woman of Tukuofe had no water with which to wash her *hiapo*. She started beating it while she sang a song begging for water:

Hakie e haku hakie,  
E ti to mai taha uha,  
Mo afu-afu haaku ē.

O, how I long for water,  
Yes, to let the rain come down,  
Then I will wash my cloth.

Suddenly the rain came and there was plenty of water. Then the woman fell into the water and floated on top of it. They called this place Holonofo (sit and float). This water is still there at Tukuofe, and they drink of it up to this very day.

There once lived a man and his wife and his children. The parents went to work, but the children went to play [*evaeva*, really meaning to walk]. The children went to catch pekapeka birds in a cave in the midst of the plantation. Seeing the pekapeka come out of the cave they went in to catch them. Then they fell into a hole in the cave.

When the parents looked for their children they were lost. The parents knew then that the children had fallen into a hole in the cave. So they made a plan for rescuing the children. They first made a *fata nunu* [a wooden tub]. Then they broke off *tuitui* [candle nuts] and dried them over a fire. These they threaded and used for lights. Next they made ropes and they tied the ropes to the wooden tub. When all was ready they lit the *tuitui* and let the tub down into the cave. The tub

lighted on top of a stone in the cave. The children climbed into the tub and were pulled up. The parents pulled, and then rested. Then they pulled again, and again rested. It was in this manner that the tub was hauled to the surface. From that time on the cave was called Futi-okioki [pull and rest].

A man by the name of Hakemaitoga knew a married woman with whom he was in the custom of committing adultery (*faivao*). He always met her alone in the bush. Lupefoa was the name of the woman. Thus they had been in the habit of meeting and having intercourse for a long time. They rejoiced greatly in each other.

A day arrived when the woman came first to their meeting place. She stayed there and waited for the man. Finally Hakemaitoga came. He was late for it had been raining. Then he went up to keep his appointment. When he came in sight of the woman she became very frightened at his appearance (*laho fau a ia*). The woman at once ran away.

Hakemaitoga remained and was very much disturbed. Why did the woman run away? Finally he saw why she had run away (*he fua e laho hana*). Then he broke off a maile stick and beat himself (*fahi aki e ia hana laho*), crying out these words, *Mania, Mania!* (Ouch, Ouch). It was for this reason that they called the place Mania.

The place names in the following list are from the official land map of Niue, to which have been added many by Mr. Bolton, an old resident of the island. A few names were obtained by me. The translations were made by Uea, a capable native informant. The numbers refer to locations on the map (Pl. I).

#### PLACE NAMES

- Aliutu. Place where the fish stay. 136.  
 Alofi. Known as the dwelling place of the god Lageiki. 1.  
 Amanau. Ready. 138.  
 Ana. Many caves. 90.  
 Anaana. Many caves. 243.  
 Anafitiloa. Long cave. 123.  
 Anaheke. Slippery cave. 233.  
 Anaheke. Slippery cave. 25.  
 Anakule. Cave of the kule bird. 5.  
 Anamotuko. Cave of the motuko bird. 10.  
 Anapatuki. Paluki cave. A man coming from Paluki is said to have stopped in this cave. 366.  
 Anato. Fall in the cave. 182.  
 Anatoga. Place where the invaders from Tonga were trapped. 247.  
 Atatoga. Stopping place of many Tongans. 309.  
 Avaiki. Chasm for king. This is a variation of the word Hawaiki. 36.  
 Avatele. Waves coming up on the sand. 121.  
 Fagafou. Hole (of crab) beneath fou tree. 113.  
 Fagalilika. Afraid. 368.  
 Fagalua. Go down and go up. 62.  
 Faifai. Wave hitting the top of the cliff and breaking down trees. 29.  
 Fakaagi. To call out. 222.  
 Fakaave. Go fast. 239.



- Fakafaleloto.** The middle of a cleared space. 266.  
**Fakalea.** Make echoes. 173.  
**Fakaleaina.** Place to fly pigeons. 145.  
**Fakanoi.** Walk and run back. 347.  
**Fakatola.** The sun falls down. 168.  
**Falehavaiki.** House of the king. 214.  
**Falihavaiki.** To take water to the king. 213.  
**Fanomoka.** The coming out of insects. 307.  
**Fao.** To make. Also the name of the god who helped make the island. 328.  
**Fatiau.** Current in the sea. 217.  
**Fatilala.** White lala tree. 367.  
**Fetiki.** Name of man killed here. 381.  
**Fifiti.** Hot the tongue (like pepper). 317.  
**Fitimoatoga.** Fight against Tonga. 305.  
**Foiama.** Place for running. 125.  
**Fononakula.** Stopping place of eels. Said to be the place to which the eel was invited for a feast. 359.  
**Foufou.** Many fou trees. 289.  
**Foukula.** Red fou tree. 304.  
**Foulua.** Wrecked canoes. 95.  
**Fuata.** The ata tree stands. 373.  
**Fuata.** Standing place of ata tree. 369.  
**Fuelalo.** West fue. 384.  
**Fueuta.** East fue (flag). 385.  
**Fugataluia.** 251.  
**Fugigie.** Trunk of gigie tree. 19.  
**Fuifi.** Name of a tree. 335.  
**Fukau.** Head of troops. 151.  
**Fulalatea.** White fulala tree. 220.  
**Fulehau.** Trunk of a le tree. 166.  
**Fulehau.** Trunk of le tree. 208.  
**Fuliku.** Name of a small tree. 339.  
**Fumaila.** Place where a mile stone stands. The old name is Fulehau (the root of the le tree). 255.  
**Fumaile.** Name of a tree. 191.  
**Fumatai.** Meeting place. 260.  
**Fumatini.** The word matini means flag. 362.  
**Fumatakula.** Name of a plant. 278.  
**Fupiu.** Trunk of piu tree. 294.  
**Fupuka.** Trunk of puka tree. 198.  
**Futu.** Futu tree. 374.  
**Gutulili.** Mouth of a cave. 157.  
**Hafata.** Huddled together. The posture of the Tongans assumed after their flight. 303.  
**Hakepo.** Place where the god of the uga (crab) stayed. 377.  
**Hakupu.** A word. The complete word is Hakupu-atua. It was the end of the south of the island and the dwelling place of Fitikita. 204.  
**Halafualagi.** The horizon. 98.  
**Halagagana.** Dripping sand. 365.  
**Halagigie.** Road on the cliff. 129.  
**Halagogo.** Road of the gogo moth. 353.  
**Halaika.** Fish road. 143.  
**Halamahaga.** 344.  
**Halatafeta.** If calm, walk on the beach, if rough, walk on the cliff. 68.

- Halatamani. Road to Tamani. A road. 205.  
Halataukiata. Clear the way. A road to the sea. 159.  
Halatemi. On the edge of the cliffs. 134.  
Halatoafa. Road of four toa. A road to the sea. 161.  
Halavai. Road to the water. 82.  
Halavao. Bush road. 276.  
Hamati. Many mata trees. 383.  
Hamoā. Samoa. This is said to be a new name, the old name being Namuke. 180.  
Hamula. Name of a man. 37.  
Hapotu. The south end of beach. 144.  
Hatea. Light. 152.  
Hatiuga. Place where uga crabs go down. 61.  
Haulei. Come and divide troops. 297.  
Havaka. To make canoes. 333.  
Hikau. Place where pia is made. 108.  
Hikihoē. To arrive at a place. 106.  
Hikulagi. End of the sky. 176.  
Hikutavake. Tail of the tavake fish. A new village; the old site was at Tama-hatokula, "The moon rose here. It was the dwelling place of the gods Kiva and Teo." 56.  
Hiliaga. Place to leave canoe. 49.  
Hilulu. Place where the owl stays. 376.  
Hina. Name of a goddess. 47.  
Hina. Name of a goddess. 231.  
Hinoki. Glaring. The glaring of troops at each other. 318.  
Hio. Beach. 45.  
Hiola. A person drinks here and says moui! (New life!). 80.  
Homofiti. A bow. 127.  
Houma. A boy all the girls like, a houa. 133.  
Houme. Place where Ume banana grows. 13.  
Huluitoga. Tongans turn back. Place where the Tongans turned back to go to their own island. 323.  
Huvalu. Eight crabs in the same hole. 87.  
Ifiifi. Many ifi trees. 290.  
Kagaloto. Think in your own mind. 115.  
Kaimiti. To eat the miti bird. 352.  
Kakaoka. Stuffy. 104.  
Kalagaika. 110.  
Kalaona. 343.  
Kalokalo. To make the pupils of the eyes go from side to side. 209.  
Kanaetea. White kanae tree. 280.  
Kanameauli. Black kanamea tree. 320.  
Kapihi. Name of a small plant. 269.  
Kapika. The kapihi plant. 331.  
Kauhi. Staff of a spear. 79.  
Kauhi. Troops stopped here. 228.  
Kaupa. Spread out. Huanaki spread out this side of the island first. 165.  
Kauputea. Bush forest. 188.  
Kavaka. To make canoes (ta-vaka). 172.  
Kavata. Kava plant. 60.  
Kavata. A single kava bush. 325.  
Keleola. Grows on the ground, or fertile. Corruption of the word kelekeleola 315.

- Kenakena.** The troops are coming. 329.
- Ketuketu.** Scratch. 100.
- King's Lookout.** A hill from which the chiefs of old were said to look down upon the battlefield. 355.
- Kokapu.** Hole in the koka tree. 187.
- Kolofou.** Modern word introduced from Tonga. 32.
- Lafa.** Branch of the fa tree. 130.
- Lagataha.** 109.
- Lageiki.** Name of a god. 3.
- Lahina.** Name of man who died here. 345.
- Lakepa.** Perpendicular to the rays of the sun. The old name is Tamalagau. It was the place of the long male (cleared space). 160.
- Lalafou.** Under the fou tree. 40.
- Laloata.** Under the ata tree. 268.
- Laloata.** Under the ata tree. 254.
- Laloatatu.** Beneath the atatu tree. 284.
- Laloavaava.** Below chasms. 351.
- Lalofetau.** Under the fetau tree. 203.
- Lalofutu.** Beneath the futu tree. 111.
- Lalokafika.** Beneath the kafika tree. 324.
- Lalokanumea.** Beneath the kanumea tree. 340.
- Lalokieto.** Below the kieto tree. 257.
- Lalokolivao.** Beneath the kolivao tree. 334.
- Lalole.** Below le trees. 156.
- Lalomalili.** Under the malili tree. 298.
- Lalomanono.** Beneath the nono tree. 363.
- Lalomilo.** Under the milo tree. 102.
- Lalotava.** Under the tava tree. 275.
- Lalotoi.** Below toi trees. 150.
- Lalomalili.** Under the malili tree. 298.
- Lalovaituku.** Put down bucket and pull up water. 39.
- Lauoku.** The wooden bowl, or kumete. It was noted for its beach *oneonepata*. "It was the dwelling place of the gods Tuatau and Tuafonua." 122.
- Lefuka.** Forest. 295.
- Lepetu.** Wrecked. (The ship carrying John Williams was wrecked here, 1867.) 27.
- Liha.** Plenty of waves. 72.
- Likikava.** (Litikava). The throwing of kava. After being chewed kava leaves were put in the hand and thrown as a curse on the enemy. 360.
- Liku.** Back of the island. Urged to war. The dwelling. The old name is *Tamahaleleka*. "It was by the gods Tuanaki-noa and Togo-liulu, place of the god Tafetau." 169.
- Limaua.** Place where the god Limaua stays. 132.
- Limu.** Sea weed. 66.
- Limufuafua.** A series of waves. 105.
- Liulagi.** Return to the sky. 249.
- Lotofonu.** Hole where the turtle stays. 35.
- Lototea.** White sea. 227.
- Lotouho.** The center [of Lakepa]. 274.
- Lotouli.** Black swimming hole. 33.
- Lotouli.** Black bush. 244.
- Luo.** Hollow. 171.
- Luo.** A hole. 332.
- Luofou.** Under the fou tree. 128.
- Mafoa.** Outside. 58.

- Mahikamea.** Scratch on a baby. A baby was scratched here by the bushes. 190.  
**Maiehi.** To make hate. Ehi is an interjection of disgust. 226.  
**Maihifou.** Split fou tree. 322b.  
**Makaapiapi.** Many stones. 221.  
**Makafotu.** To dance. 230.  
**Makaheheke.** Smooth stone. 4.  
**Makaihi.** Split stones. Said to be a recent name. 330.  
**Makalavakula.** Stone of Lavakula. The toa Lavakula fought at this place and laid a stone in commemoration of his victory. 282.  
**Makalea.** Varied-colored stone. 52.  
**Makaloko.** Rough place. 42.  
**Makamalu.** Shadow of a stone. 283.  
**Makamataka.** To split stones. 240.  
**Makamukaniu.** Name of a man. The rejected lover committed suicide by jumping off the cliff. 140.  
**Makapapa.** Smooth stone. 224.  
**Makape.** Stones drift ashore. 245.  
**Makapopo.** Rotten stone. 131.  
**Makapu.** Blow hole. 53.  
**Makapuku.** Round stone. 382.  
**Makatagaloa.** Stone of Tagaloa. 112.  
**Makataha.** One stone. 263.  
**Makatauiki.** The stone of the king. Mohelagi put a stone in the ground here in commemoration of a victory. 380.  
**Makatea.** White stones. 124.  
**Makato.** When you step on the stone it echoes. 14.  
**Makato.** Stone dropping. 135.  
**Makatu.** Stone standing up. 30.  
**Makatugi.** The old name for the place is Lele, the name of a tree. 371.  
**Makatutaha.** Stone standing by itself. 50.  
**Makauga.** An uga (crab) stayed under a stone. 164.  
**Makauga.** Uga under a stone. 261.  
**Makavilitoga.** Foreigner spins stone. The place where Mutalau and Tihamau held conversation. 281.  
**Makefu.** A boy child. Location of a reed house of the gods. 24.  
**Makiapili.** Sticky stone. 316.  
**Malekau.** War place. 252.  
**Maleloa.** A long male. 326.  
**Maleloa.** A long male. 267.  
**Maleuli.** Black. 256.  
**Maliekula.** Name of a man. 336.  
**Mana.** Supernatural power. 299.  
**Mania.** Ouch! 167.  
**Manuki.** Good. 114.  
**Matafivalu.** Eight fires. 201.  
**Matafaua.** Two fa trees. 273.  
**Matakaolima.** Long like a finger. 77.  
**Matala.** Eyes of the sun. 181.  
**Matalakuti.** Name of a tree. 272.  
**Matalave.** Nearly. 46.  
**Matamoko.** Face of an insect; a ghost. 192.  
**Matatamane.** Eye of plover. 97.  
**Matapa.** Sore that has been washed off. 57.  
**Matavao.** Way to the bush. 370.



- Matavao. Forest. 348.  
Matavao. Way to the bush. 194.  
Mati. Name of a tree. 186.  
Matikelitea. Many ripples. 322.  
Matoea. High cliff. 43.  
Moheagakau. Place where troops sleep. 153.  
Motu. Division between Motu and Tafiti. 78.  
Motuli. The knee. 270.  
Motutapu. Sacred Island. Said to be a new word coined from the Bible. 314.  
Mougahevea. 356.  
Mougaone. Mouga is the word for mountain. 338.  
Muitauliku. End of Liku. 175.  
Mutalau. Named for the hero Mutalau. Before the time of Mutalau, the name was Matafonua (the head of the land). "It was the chief village and dwelling place of the god Huanaki." 70.  
Namoui. Dark and deep; place in the sea. 22.  
Namukey. Long beach. This beach is one mile long. 86.  
Namukulu. Pigeon. 48.  
Natuku. Let down. Place where Malau let himself down from the cannibals and escaped. 174.  
Niufela. Broken coconut. Place where Tihimau broke a coconut and gave Mutalau a drink. 292.  
Niumea. A variety of coconut. 196.  
Nualoto. Place inside of the sea. 189.  
Nukufetau. The fetau tree. 210.  
Olomapua. Underneath the pua tree. 358.  
Omahi. Come here. 6.  
Omea. Name of a fish. 179.  
Oneiki. Town of king. 235.  
Onemotu. Town of the island. 238.  
Oneone. Sand. 26.  
Onono. Repair net. 18.  
Opahi. The other side. (This was Cook's landing place.) 142.  
Opo. To go in the night. 137.  
Palaha. Hole from the land to the sea. 38.  
Palale. Rotten le tree. 291.  
Paletoto. Place where blood flowed [during one of the wars of Palalagi]. 378.  
Paliati. To make an artificial hill. 321.  
Palitoa. To think oneself a toa. 223.  
Palofi. Dangerous road between two caves. 93.  
Paluki. Dwelling place of the gods. The sacred city of the pagan days. "It was the dwelling place of the war gods, Uikotau and Vikotupua." 311.  
Papuaka. Pig sty. A recent name. 207.  
Patu. A chief. The old name of the place is Fakamatutu (to look on the road). 342.  
Patuo. Big stone. 246.  
Patuoku. 74.  
Patuoto. Main thought (patuloto). 237.  
Pehau. Wing of the peka (flying-fox). 293.  
Pikiona. 193.  
Pofitu. The seventh night. Cave where man spent his seventh night. 229.  
Pokomago. Shark's room. A recent name. 287.  
Pukapuka. A number of puka trees. 31.  
Puluhiki. Canoe landed here. 75.

- Pumate. Inside a hole. 277.  
Pumoana. Hole from the land to the sea. 346.  
Pupu. Many holes. Sink holes that reach down to the sea. 23.  
Tafa. 116.  
Tagatiti. 313.  
Tahihavilia. Blow hole. 51.  
Tahileleka. Cave full of water. 17.  
Takaoga. To and fro (fakaoga). 177.  
Talava. Water flowing under arch. 59.  
Taliga. Place to get fish. 34.  
Talikifea. What are you going to ask? 11.  
Talimaitoga. Hear from Toga. Laufoli waited here for his ship. 219.  
Taloli. Dirt. 216.  
Tamahamau. Name of a man; third child of Tihamau. 212.  
Tamahatokula. The red people. Red was worn as a war paint. This is the old site of Hikutavake. 259.  
Tamakafua. Firm. 236.  
Tamakautoga. Boy from the south. The old name is Tamahamua. 126.  
Tamani. Name of a tree. The old site of the present village of Hakupu, then called Hanofu (stopping place). 206.  
Tametame. Descriptive of crab catching. (The fishermen put out their torches, wait for the kalahimu crab, then relight the torches and catch the crab.) 21.  
Tanu. Place where the waves come up. 103.  
Taoke. Rolling about. 76.  
Tapaiki. Side of a king. 262.  
Tapeu. Stay and fight. 357.  
Tapuhia. Tapu by waves. 107.  
Taputoa. Sacred warrior. 364.  
Tatapiu. Many piu plants. 55.  
Tauli. Taro cooked in skin. 288.  
Taumalala. Ashes of the fire. 178.  
Taupala. Place to shoot birds. 242.  
Tautu. Step by step. Natural steps here lead down to the ocean. 81.  
Tautumate. Be brave! 285.  
Tava. Bad road down to the sea. 41.  
Taveau. Current bushes. Fishnets could not be placed here. 16.  
Tegamanu. Eggs of an animal. 232.  
Tepa. Burst. (See p. 13.) 118.  
Tepuhia. Not allowed. 234.  
Teveteve. A place where there are teve trees. 271.  
Tialeuta. The tiale tree is removed. 265.  
Tiatele. Name of a man. 350.  
Tiatele. Kick your legs together and you fall. 154.  
Tihamau. Place where Tihamau stopped. 83.  
Tihamau. Place where Tihamau stayed. 119.  
Tioafa. The cliffs. 120.  
Toa. Warrior. 354.  
Toafa. Near cliff. 149.  
Togaave. To carry a full load. 241.  
Togakaho. Sinnet binding. 296.  
Togalupo. Name of a man. 7.  
Togo. Name of a tree. 88.  
Toi. Name of a tree. 264.  
Tokainiu. Coconut tree stands here. 99.

- Toloagatoga.** Gathering place of Tongans. Place where the Tongans stayed after the episode at Anatoga. 302.
- Tologomotu.** The gathering place of the Motu troops. 215.
- Tomb point.** European burial ground. 148.
- Tuafutu.** The back of the futu tree. 184.
- Tuaki.** Name of a bird. 341.
- Tuali.** Sea snake. 28.
- Tualiku.** Back of Avatele. 117.
- Tuapa.** Receding tide. The old name is Uhomotu (the core of the island). It was the main village and our support. It was the dwelling place of the god Tafehemoana." 44.
- Tufu.** Name of a fish. 162.
- Tufuea.** Tufu fish rise to the top of the sea. 225.
- Tufukia.** Look out at the waves. 139.
- Tufu-tea.** White beach. 2.
- Tuhia.** Slander. 96.
- Tukitukipule.** Knock the shell. 12.
- Tukumati.** Go for your life. 71.
- Tukuofe.** 306.
- Tumatagi.** The wind stands. 372.
- Tumea.** Gray. 158.
- Tumuana.** Plenty of water in the cave. 202.
- Tumufa.** Four little pools. 327.
- Tumukieto.** Water in the hollow of the kieto tree. 211.
- Tumumoka.** Little stone pool. 286.
- Tumupua.** Little pool of water beneath the pua tree. 308.
- Tunukolivao.** Water in bush at the roots of a tree. 163.
- Tuo.** The peck of a bird. 69.
- Tutekolo.** Man weak from fighting. 319.
- Tutu.** To cut. 337.
- Tutuila.** Nukalofa, the man who brought the coconuts from Tutuila, was born in this place. 253.
- Uani.** A foreign name word. 92.
- Ugauga.** Crabs. The name of a fort. 218.
- Ulumago.** Head of a shark. 170.
- Ulutatane.** Top of the tatane tree. 375.
- Uluvehi.** Entangled. 65.
- Uluvela.** Burning head. 200.
- Utico.** Up there. 147.
- Utuhina.** Stalactite. 300.
- Utuka.** Dive to the place. 248.
- Vafulufulu.** Many va trees. 379.
- Vahavaha.** Perpendicular. 199.
- Vaiata.** Room in the water. 197.
- Vaigatata.** Roar of the water when the waves recede. 84.
- Vaihoko.** The water comes up [at high tide]. 63.
- Vaiilla.** Can see the water in the well. 9.
- Vailele.** Flowing water. 141.
- Vailoa.** Long water (a chasm). 15.
- Vaimai.** Between fresh and salt water. 146.
- Vaimilo.** Water at milo tree. 250.
- Vainiaku.** Water dug by the people. 94.
- Vaiola.** Sweet water. 361.
- Vaiopeope.** Zigzag water. 64.

- Vaipala. Wet water. 101.  
Vaipala. Wet with water. 310.  
Vaipapahi. Ladder down to the water. 258.  
Vaipouli. Dark water [of cave]. 301.  
Vaipupapahi. Ladder to hole in the water. 155.  
Vaitafi. Flowing water. 73.  
Vaituku. Water in a hole. 54.  
Vakevake. Daylight. 185.  
Valikele. Dirty water. 67.  
Valikulu. Name of a sea shrub. 85.  
Vaohina. Cave of stalactite. 20.  
Vaonamu. Mosquitoes in the bush. 89.  
Vaono. Name of a large bush tract. 279.  
Vaopola. Female sexual organ seen in the bush. 195.  
Vaotoi. Clear water. 91.  
Vavau. An old name supposed to have been given to the place by a man from Tonga. 312.  
Veli. Fall. The place where Lafoli died. 183.



## HISTORICAL NOTES

## MOIETIES AND MIGRATIONS

Two features of obvious prominence in the culture of Niue are the division of the island into endogamous hostile moieties, and the idea of "killing the king" during times of famine. It is important to ascertain whether these two cultural features were brought to Niue by diffusion from other Polynesian islands, or whether they developed in response to specific causes on the island.

According to Handy, a dual system of political organization existed on Hivaoa and Nukuhiva in the Marquesas. A corresponding dual political division existed on Easter Island, Rarotonga, and on Hawaii. Handy states (7, p. 9), "This dual division of the Marquesas may be due to the growth and expansion of two branches of an original stock in two centers, or to two settlements, one subsequent to the other, by different stocks of people. The possibility also suggests itself that the dual political divisions may have been a relic of a social system in which there was a dual division into moieties."

It is fairly safe to assume that the moiety system in Niue is due to separate immigrations to the island. In the first place, historical traditions record a number of such migrations. Secondly, to this day minor differences appear in the mythology and languages of the two ends of the island and greater differences probably prevailed in prehistoric times. This, however, may be due to isolation. But the most important evidence lies in the variance of physical type between the natives of Motu and those of Tafiti. Twenty-five years ago, when inter-marriage between the two localities was frowned upon, this difference was pronounced. But even these characteristics are very apparent, and admitted by all the white residents of the island. When the physical measurements of the natives of Tafiti and of Motu are analyzed, I expect them to support the statements of Smith, who writes (15, Vol. XI, pp. 163-4):

It is certain that there are two types of face and figure in Niue, and generally, it may be said that the type which I shall call the more Melanesian of the two, is to be found in the south part of the island. Here is to be found a type that is somewhat shorter and broader, with large wide jaws, a low forehead, and a generally more morose expression of face, than the others, who exhibit the characteristics of the true Polynesian, tall, broadshouldered, intellectual looking faces, of cheerful demeanor, and altogether of a pleasanter mien. It must not be understood that there is any strong line of demarkation between these two types,—nor do I wish it to be understood that there has been a migration of Melanesians to the island—not at all; those who exhibit

to a larger extent than others, the Melanesian characteristics, acquired them through their ancestors long before they came to Niue, probably in Fiji, which was the headquarters of the Polynesian race for many centuries.

According to tradition, there were three migrations to Niue. The first migration recorded was that made by the five *tupua* and their followers, led by Huanaki and Fao. Smith believes that these *tupua* were deified ancestors who led an expedition from Savaii, Samoa, to Niue about 700 A. D. and that this migration was composed of Motu people. The evidence back of this tradition is so vague that I am, as yet, unable to obtain fresh material of importance concerning the supposed migration. It is to be presumed that it took place before a system of kingship, divine chiefs, hereditary priesthood, or a caste division of labor developed on the home island. The migration must also have taken place before the introduction of tattooing and incision on the homeland.

The second migration consisted of the Tongan war expedition which fought the people of Niue at Anatoga. Basil Thomson (18) states this battle was fought about 1525.

The surviving people of Tonga settled in Tafiti, and doubtless augmented the numbers of other Tafiti people who had come from Tonga before. The traditions record that Niue and Tonga were at peace before this battle, and this would have given an opportunity for peaceful migration.

The third expedition was led by a Tongan, Mutalau, and took place at perhaps the end of the seventeenth century. That these people settled in Motu, is suggested by the place name, Mutalau, on the north end of the island. The system of kingships, an imitation of the *tui-tonga*, and the drinking of kava were introduced at this time.

The differences in physical type between the natives at opposite ends of the island may be thus accounted for by the fact that the northern end received the greater part of the early Samoan stock. The preponderance of Tongan words in the Niue vocabulary may be accounted for by the fact that all of the later migrations of which we have record were from Tonga.

The setting for the drama of the third immigration to Niue took place at Avatele, on the island of Niue itself. An account of the family of Tihamau copied by me from the family record of Hipa, of Hikutavake, reads as follows:

Tihamau I, and his wife Malotele went first and lived in Avatele. They had two children, a boy a girl. The boy's name was Tihamau II, and the girl's name was Mahelepa. The boy married his sister, and they had three daughters, Mahelemoka, Maheleone, and Matagigifale.

Then the family suddenly scattered and Malotele and Mahelemoka [the grandmother and her eldest granddaughter] went to the middle of the island. Malotele died in Veve, but her granddaughter bore offspring.

Then Mahelepa and Meheleone [her second eldest daughter] went to Lualei, where they both bore many offspring.

But Matagigifale went to Tonga, where she bore offspring.

Smith (15, Vol. XII. p. 102) records a tradition wherein Matagigifale married a chief in the island of Tonga, from which union came Mutalau. "When he had grown up he learnt that his mother came from Motu-tē-fua (Niue), and he desired much to return to his mother's home."

So much is, I believe, accurate history. It is perhaps needless to add that when Mutalau returned to Niue he spared no pains in embellishing the story about his mother's achievements. Thus it is told that she did not travel to Tonga by any natural means, but that she went over in the belly of a whale. It is said also that she taught the people of Tonga how to permit their women to have children by a natural birth, for before her time the women were always cut open in order to allow for childbirth. Smith points out that both of these achievements are borrowed from known Polynesian mythological sources.

The story of how Mutalau came to Niue is also colored by a mythological interpolation. The incomplete, and I believe inaccurate version which Smith received, runs as follows (15, Vol. XII, p. 6):

Tihamau was the chief of Nuku-tu-taha (Niuē); he built his great house at Hapuga and Faofao, a village at the Ulu-lauta, at Mata-fonua of the Lelego-atua (at the north end of Niuē; there is no such village now). He was the lord of the *malē* (plaza) of Fana-kava-tala and Tia-tele; and of the stone house built by Huanaki at Vaihoko—he was the first king of the island of Niuē-fekai.

Matuku-hifi was the *hagai* or lieutenant of Tihamau, whose duty was to guard the entrance against the Tongans, lest they seize the island. He dwelt at the upper rock at Makatau-kakala, at Oneone-pata, Avatele. He prepared some white *operculii*, and bound them (over his eyes) with *hiapo* when darkness set in, and thus leaned back on his seat. The rock against which he supported himself was opposite the sea. When he had the *operculii* in his eyes they shone white, as a man who was wide awake, and then he slept soundly until daylight.

This was at the period that Mutalau arranged to come to the island, but Matuku-hifi kept strict guard so that it was difficult for Mutalau to land. Mutalau used frequently to come by night, without success, so he waited till daylight at which time Matuku-hifi went away to work, and leaving his canoe at Tioafa, crept up to the resting place of Matuku-hifi to see what kind of man he was.

When the hour of Matuku-hifi's return came, he made his fire, and bound on his artificial eyes and rested in his stone-seat. Then Mutalau saw that it was all deceit; so he waited until Matuku-hifi was sound asleep, then seizing his weapon he went up by the path, and struck Matuku-hifi on the head and cut it off, together with the stone seat. Thus died Matuku-hifi.

After this Mutalau went to Vaono, near Malafati, a village between Lakepa and Liku, where he met Tihamau, the king. Here they disputed together, because Mutalau had come to the island.



The full name of Mutalau was Tepunua Mutalau. The Tihamau mentioned in the account was Tihamau II, grandfather of Mutalau. Tihamau was not the first king of Niue, and he is not mentioned as being the first king in any trustworthy lists. He was, or rather became by conquest, a chief of the north end of the island. Matuku-hifi was not a lieutenant of Tihamau; he was an enemy of both Tihamau and his grandson Mutalau, and was a chief of the south end of the island. With the exception of these corrections, the story as given is accurate.

After his family was scattered, Tihamau was beset by a number of wars, occasioning his retreat from Tafiti to Motu. During the course of this retreat he made stands at Talimaitoga, Kenakena, Paluki, and Lelega. Tihamau was noted for his road building. According to some traditions, he first made use of the flag (*matini*), but more credible sources state that Mutalau brought the flag from Tonga.

#### INTRODUCTION OF TONGAN CULTURE

I have received a number of accounts concerning the meeting of Mutalau with his grandfather, and the assumption by Mutalau of the kingship of the island. Due to the fact that Mutalau was half Tongan by birth, and that he must have been well acquainted with the system of sacred chiefs, or *tuitonga*, in his native land, there can be no doubt concerning the genesis of the idea of *patuiki* in Niue. It will be noted that the victory which Mutalau and his, to be assumed, troops gained over Matuku-hifi and his, to be assumed, troops, enabled Mutalau to be the ruler over the entire island. The following is the most complete account that I was given concerning the setting up of the kingship on Niue. It was furnished in writing by Uea:

After Mutalau had killed Matuku-hifi he went on into the island. He travelled a long way until he arrived at Talimaitoga, where he established his flag. [That is, he gained a victory at this place.] Then, passing to the south, he went entirely through the region. He then passed through the east, the north, and the west. He finally moved all of his belongings and he traversed the road through the center of the island. Here he met one of the chiefs (*iki*) of the island, Tihamau by name.

The two men gossiped, while spinning the stick of Mutalau on top of a stone. This made a hole in the stone. The hole is still there at the present day.

After the two had finished gossiping, Mutalau said to Tihamau, "Go and bind the *kafika*."

Tihamau agreed to this proposal, and Mutalau said, "You bind yours first, and I will bind mine afterwards." Tihamau broke the *kafika* stick into eleven pieces; he tied them up and they were secure. Then he sat down. But Mutalau was watching, and after Tihamau was finished he queried him thus:



"Ko fe e iki?"

"Hanai."

"Ko fe e hagai-iki?"

"Hanai."

"Ko fe e pule?"

"Hanai."

"Ko fe e alagavaka?"

"Hanai."

"Ko fe e nukufamea?"

"Hanai."

"Ko fe e matatuakau?"

"Hanai."

"Ko fe e pakalevele?"

"Hanai."

"Ko fe e laumamanu?"

"Hanai."

"Ko fe e kanehala?"

"Hanai."

"Ko fe e tomoui?"

"Hanai."

"Ko fe e mateniu?"

"Hanai."

"Ko fe e mena ne poki pehe?"

In these queries, Mutalau first asked Tihamau, "Where is the chief?" (*Ko fe e iki?*) Tihamau then replied, "Here" (*Hanai*). Mutalau then ran through the list of officers which every chief was supposed to have and each official answered the roll call by replying "Here." Up to this point Tihamau showed that he was as fit to rule the island as his grandson. Finally Mutalau asked a catch question, "*Ko fe e mena ne poki pehe?*" (Where is the thing who catches thusly?) As Mutalau asked this question he clapped his hands as was done in the Tongan and Samoan kava ceremony. When Mutalau asked this question, "Tihama kept silent because he was beaten; he did not drink kava, as was the custom with Mutalau." [For a translation of the names of the officers, see p. 56.]

The *kafika* sticks of Tihamau were bound after this fashion;



That is to say, the tops of the *kafika* sticks were spread out. It is for that reason that there is always discord in the councils of this island. It is because the *kafika* sticks of Tihamau were spread out.

Afterwards Mutalau bound his *kafika*, and he did it after this fashion;<sup>2</sup>



After these *kafika* sticks had been bound, Mutalau made the kava (*tuki ni e kava*) and gave it to the followers of Tihamau.

<sup>2</sup> I believe that the two different methods of binding the *kafika* were adopted from the respective Niuean and Tongan fashions of house building. The immediate purpose of the ritual was, of course, keeping of the peace.

This is an example of the manner in which they honored their *patuiki* after they had finished their council concerning the *patuiki* of the island:

Hau e ma hagai-iki.

(paki e lima).

Hau e ma pule.

Hau e ma alagavaka.

Hau e ma nukufagamea.

Hau e ma matatuakau.

Hau e ma pakaleveleve

Hau e ma laumamanu.

Hau e ma kanehala.

Hau e ma tomoui.

Hau e ma mateniu.

These were the words used in the kava ceremony. Each official as he is called forth in turn, proceeds to clap his hands a certain number of times in accordance with his rank. He is then given a bowl of kava to drink. Thus "*Hau e ma hagai-iki*" is merely the summons for the *hagai-iki* to step forward.

[After the kava ceremony was finished] the people were pleased with Mutalau and followed after him. Mutalau next went up and placed his flag at Lelegoatua. Then he headed northward, but he left behind him trustworthy troops to guard the south end of the island. He changed the name of the north end of the island from Matafonua to Ululauta, and he named the south end Hikulauta. Mutalau lived in Matafonua, and this is the reason why they call Matafonua Mutalau up to this very day.<sup>3</sup>

Matuku-hifi left two boys at the time he was killed by Mutalau. The names of these boys were Lepokafatu and Lepokanifo. When they became grown up they were taught to fight. This is the song that they then sang:

Ti nonofo a mutolu hi nai,

Kae o hake a maua ke mahia Matafonua.

Likiliki to mamate hifo,

Ka lalahi ato liliu mai.

Fatuaki e lotu ke tau.

You are to stay here,

But we will go up and destroy Matafonua.

If we are too small we will die,

But if we are large we shall return.

Our minds are determined on war.

Then the boys went up and killed Mutalau at Matafonua. This was the beginning of the law of blood revenge (*lukutoto*) on the island—the life of a man, for the man he killed.

Little more is known about the drinking of kava on Niue than is found in the story about Mutalau. Kava drinking never became a custom of the people in general, and today not a native kava bowl is to be found on the island. It is certain, however, that the chiefs formerly drank kava in a ceremonial manner for the custom of *faikava-atua* (making kava for the gods) is mentioned in the family records. It is probable that a libation of kava took place at this ceremony, which was always conducted in an enclosure at some sacred place, such as Paluki.

Before the introduction of kava drinking, it was the custom in Niue to partake of the coconut water in a ceremonial manner. Niufela (Broken-coconut) is said to be the place at which Tihamau gave Mutalau a drink. The coconut was broken into halves and these full of liquid were clinked together while a conventionalized prayer was offered, "*e, e, e.*" Each of

<sup>3</sup> After his defeat Tihamau became the honorary servant of Mutalau and a renowned road maker. He first lived at Avatele, and then in a cave at Tepa. This cave has but a small mouth opening to the sea, but it is very large inside, and here Tihamau was buried. Nobody has ever disturbed his final resting place. The sea bordering Tepa is called Tihamau to this day.

the men then poured a little of the liquid onto the ground, after which they drank their portion.

The migration of Mutalau and his followers was by no means the last which the Tongans made to Niue. Smith mentions the trip led by a woman called Ninifale<sup>4</sup> who settled with her followers on the coast near the village now called Tamakautoga. I was told that Ninifale was a half sister of Laufoli. While Smith was residing at Niue there were living the great grandchildren of some Tongan women who were captured during a Tongan raid on Niue and Mr. Lawes, then missionary at Niue, informed him that shortly before the rotting remains of a large Tongan canoe could be seen not far from Liku.

I obtained two more undated traditions concerning the coming of the Tongans to Niue. One concerns a man named Vaea who came with his two children to Niue when his own island was suffering from a famine. He left the two children in a cave called Anafufua, which was situated in Aliutu, while he searched for fruit for them. Upon his return, he found that his children were dead. He mourned greatly over his loss, and gave the children burial by setting them adrift in a boat. Returning to Tonga, he remained there for only five days, and once more went to the cave in Niue where his children had died and continued the ceremony of mourning.

Another tradition concerns a man by the name of Palafoonuku, who lived at Tavahili, at Tuapa. One day a canoe came to his place from Tonga under the leadership of a Tongan chief named Teiloa. Palafoonuku observed the gorgeous manner in which Teiloa was attired, and he knew at once that he was a chief. Palafoonuku ran as fast as he could when once the Tongan boat had landed. Teiloa, alone, gave chase. Then Palafoonuku leapt over a large stone which lay in his path. The Tongan chief, in turn, tried to leap over the stone, but he failed to clear the obstacle, and stumbling, he sprained his leg. His men carried him back to his ship, and gave utterance to their disappointment. "My leg is sprained;" indignantly replied Teiloa, "are all of your legs sprained also that you did not join with me in catching and killing the Niuean?" From these accounts it will be seen that there was fairly constant intercourse with Tonga in prehistoric times, although this intercourse was, at least in more recent years, of a hostile nature. The more elaborate chants (pp. 53, 223) are full of allusions to the Tuitonga, and the Tongans, and the desire is expressed that these people be kept away from Niue, for they had no regard for the native customs. It is highly probable that the Tongans brought over the first severe plague which ravished Niue; a circumstance which led to a policy of rigid exclusion

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<sup>4</sup> Not the same person as Matagigifale, the mother of Mutalau.



not only against foreigners, but also against the people of Niue who endeavored to return after visiting a foreign land. The inhospitable reception given to Captain Cook may thus be accounted for.

## THE COMING OF THE WHITE MAN

### EARLY HISTORY

Niue was discovered by Captain Cook, June 20, 1774 (1). The natives have handed down their own tradition of the event; and while I have obtained records from several sources, the following compiled from native sources by Uea, is the most complete:

He landed at Tuapa, and he went up first to make an oven at Falekula, an elevated place at Tuapa. Then some men approached Captain Cook, and he gave them fishhooks and necklaces of red beads. In the beginning Captain Cook was very kind and he gave axes to some of the people, and earrings to one man. This made another man angry so he painted his teeth with the dripping blood of the *hulahula* banana, and proceeded to enact the war dance in front of Captain Cook. Then he showed his teeth, and when Captain Cook saw them he thought that the man had eaten another man raw, and had applied the red blood to his teeth. The head of Captain Cook was wrapped up, and that is the reason that the people of the island call the white people "covered heads" or Papalagi.

Captain Cook went next to Opahi, but the people ran away because they were afraid of him. Then he went to Oneonepata, Avatele, where his men cooked on the beach at the south of the sandy stretch. Here also he was kind to the natives and he gave them necklaces, and fish hooks. But some of the people threw stones at the Captain, and then they all fled. They were afraid that the strangers would become angry and kill them. Then the very red covered men with the white covered heads followed. Kulatea threw at the leader, and the spear hit him on the chest. But that man was holding a stick, and he placed it in position (*fakatonu*). This stick made no noise, but the sticks of the other men became very angry, and they exploded in the foreign manner. When the sticks exploded all the natives fled to Avale that day, and hid in the caves and chasms, for they were afraid of the sticks that exploded.

This story agrees in all essentials with Captain Cook's diary. Captain Cook mentions three landing places. It is probable that the last place was Avatele, and not Opahi, as believed by Smith. If Captain Cook were skirting the western coast the only three places he could have landed are those mentioned in the native account. I think that the story of the red banana juice is an interpolation, for this strategy is mentioned as being used against white people who came later to the island. The natives place the incident in the Captain Cook story for the purpose of convincing the world that they were not the cannibals which they erroneously believed Captain Cook called them when he named Niue "Savage Island."

The next contact with the white people of which we have record occurred a few months before the Rev. John Williams landed in 1830. Williams



(22) writes, "We were informed that the islanders had seized a boat belonging to a vessel which had touched there a few months before, and murdered all of the crew."

It is possible that the following native account, which I received at Liku, concerns this event, but it is perhaps more likely that the Liku people have reference to another massacre which occurred at about the same period.

A wreck occurred in a stony portion of the sea. There was no good path leading down to the sea at this point. A woman, however, went down the cliffs, and she saw a number of men by the sea. They were staying on the cliffs and drying their possessions in the sun. The woman did not know where the people had come from. She quickly returned to her own *kaina*, where she informed her male relatives that they should go down and visit the people that were staying by the sea. The relatives arose and seized their war weapons; they wrongly thought that the people by the sea were hostile troops. They went down and killed all of the strangers. They observed nothing unusual until they had finished the massacre, when they saw a foreign ship which was breaking up on the reefs. Then they realized that the people had belonged to the ship; before this, however, they had no idea where they had come from. The shoes of the strangers were divided up, and the cliffs were given the name of Makalaliki (The-rocks-that-destroy).

The account of the visit of the "Messenger of Peace" the little vessel of John Williams, may be read in the book of that famous missionary. Smith (15, Vol. II, p. 15) has presented the story from the traditions of the white settlers of Niue. The purpose which led Williams to visit Niue was the landing of native missionary teachers from Aitutaki. The Niueans, however, appeared, in the eyes of Williams, to be "the most wretched and degraded of any natives that I have ever seen, except the aborigines of New Holland," and the original plan was abandoned. What actually was done was the kidnapping of two of the natives, Uea and Niumaga, and the carrying of these men to Samoa for the purpose of teaching them Christianity. A native writes as follows concerning the visit of the "Messenger of Peace":

The missionary boat came to the island. Mister Williams came and landed at Tuapa, where he made an oven at Falekula. One of the *toa* of the island, Helagi by name, visited the white people and obtained an earring. When the people of the island saw this wealth they rejoiced greatly. But Tulitoa, a *toa* of Makefu, heard about the earring, and he and his relatives prepared strong troops and went up to Tuapa to fight the foreigners. Helagi, however, showed them the earring; the eyes of Tulitoa and his troops were dazzled, and they turned back to Makefu. After this they went down to the ship to seek earrings for themselves. Uea, the son of Tulitoa, went on board the ship, but the father turned back.

I do not know the ancestry of Uea, but he was a Makefu man not of the Liku family. I believe, however, that Niumaga was another name for Tupuamana, the younger brother of Vemoa, and the greatuncle of my

informant Uea. This is the story that Tupuamana, or Niumaga, handed down:

Tupuamana came down with Ahetoa from Tuhia (Hakupu) to the boat; it was a missionary boat. Then Ahetoa deceived Tupuamana and went up to the upper deck and escaped. But Williams fed Tupuamana until he was full, and then when he went above the boat of Ahetoa had already left for the shore. Presently the missionary ship also left, and carried away Tupuamana. Williams was glad, because he had found a man that he could carry away and teach. But Tupuamana was not glad, he was very sad and he cried:

Tagi hifo he liu pouli,  
Lagataha e tagi he fouliua.  
To poi ke teletele, hake he fanā,  
Kitekite ki Niue to galo.

I cry down to the dark places,  
Once I cry on the ship,  
Then I run and climb up the mast,  
And watch Niue disappear in the distance.

Williams records that the two Niuean lads were taken "only after considerable difficulty." Once they were on board they continued crying for three or four days, and would neither eat, drink, nor sleep. They turned away from pork with aversion, for never having seen animal food before, they thought it was human flesh, and that they themselves had been taken on board for the purpose of replenishing the ship's larder. Their fears were, however, to some extent removed on the third day when they saw a pig being slaughtered. After a time, finding that no harm was intended them, they quieted down.

The ship first touched at Samoa, and then Raiatea. Tupuamana still felt homesick for his native land, but after the custom of all Polynesians, he planted a coconut tree in his new home. Then he begged the mission ship to bring his gods to him "so that they also might see the island!"

While the two youths were at Raiatea they were taught many things, and something of Christian doctrines. After several months they were returned to Niue. Here they had trouble in landing, because by the act of leaving the island they had become foreigners, and hence people to be excluded. A native account states:

The missionary ship first landed at Tuapa. The people of that town were very angry, and they saw victims for their fish net [war victims]. The captain tried to get Tupuamana ashore, but the people were very angry, and they hindered him. The ship next proceeded to Tautu, where the waters were very rough. Then a canoe came up from Alofi [the home town of Tupuamana]. It was the boat belonging to Tifaulu and his boy Motuvale. They were also carrying a man by the name of Poumale. Tifaulu was able to take Tupuamana into his boat. Then Tifaulu started on his trip back to Alofi, while the Tuapa people, who were anxious to get back their victim for the fish net, continued the pursuit from the shore.

Tifaulu and his crew paddled violently and drove their canoe to the shore. When they beached they were careful to leave the canoe pointing out to the sea. As they turned to go inland they were set upon by the crowd, who were prepared to kill Tupuamana. So Tifaulu called out to his crew to flee, and lifting the canoe on his

back, he allowed it to glide down into the sea. Then the others followed his example in jumping into the boat. Once they were free from the shore Tifaulu turned back and called out mockingly, "*Inu e lalo elo ki afaga!* (Drink rancid oil at the landing place!)"

The people on shore lifted up their canoes, intending to start in pursuit, but they lost time, because their canoes were headed towards the shore. Finally, however, they turned their boats and placed them in the sea. Tifaulu saw that he was being pursued, so he called out to Paumale, "*Ketuketu, ketuketu*" (Paddle for all you're worth).

Finally Tifaulu and his companions escaped and landed at Alofi. Their parents and brothers came to help them that night. A battle was fought the next day and the Alofi people were victorious. Then Tupuamana was no longer in danger.

Uea, however, was not so fortunate as his companion, Tupuamana. It is said of Uea that he brought back three things to Niue: the papaya, the gospel, and *kafu kula*, a disease resembling syphilis. The importation of this disease caused the island to rise up in arms against Uea and his family, for the epidemic was disastrous to the Motu people. Not only did many of the people of the north end of the island die or fall sick, but Tafiti added to the calamity by making a raid on the sick warriors when they heard of the news, and killed off many of the people who were too ill to escape from their houses.

The manner in which Christianity was finally introduced into Niue is related by Smith (15, Vol. XII, p. 17), on the basis of information obtained from Rev. F. E. Lawes:

Niumaga (Tupuamana) . . . together with Niukai and Peniamina subsequently left Niue in a timber ship for Samoa, where Peniamina fell into the hands of the missionaries, and became a servant of Dr. Turner, who taught him a good deal. He was a clever man, and could both read and write. About 1844-5 Peniamina returned as a missionary to his native island and began to teach the gospel, but he "fell from grace," and eloped with another man's wife. He went off to a calling vessel, just like any other of the wild islanders, with long floating hair, etc., which was their custom. He was not altogether a success as an evangelist.

It was then decided by the mission in Samoa to send Paulo, a native Samoan, and evidently a man of superior character, who arrived in Niue in October, 1849. He became very popular and won the hearts of the Niue people; he taught them many things, amongst others to build churches and the substantial lath and plaster houses now so common. [He lived at Mutalau, and gradually Christianized these wild people.] The Mutalau people at that time were in the ascendant, and through their means he got the people of the island together at a place between Liku and Lakepa, and there persuaded them to make peace, which has lasted to this day. Afterwards other Samoan teachers came: Samuela, who was teacher at Avatele; Sakaia, at Tuapa; Moses, at Alofi, etc.

It is certain that no white man ever had a chance to observe the original native culture of the Niueans, for the Rev. W. G. Lawes, brother of the later Rev. F. E. Lawes, the first white man to reside in the island (in



1861), found six churches and only eight non-Christians left. It is well known that native missionaries are far more thoroughgoing in the destruction of an alien pagan culture than are their white colleagues, and it is therefore very much to be doubted whether either the Lawes brothers or Mr. Robert Head, Sr., the first trader of the island, could have observed very much concerning the original culture of the natives. Yet the greater part of the information which has been published concerning Niue has come, originally, from the lips of either Rev. F. E. Lawes or R. Head, Sr., rather than from the family traditions of the natives themselves.

### THE CONFLICT OF RELIGIONS

According to native account, Kilipalua, a *taula-atua* of Mutalau, first predicted the coming of Christianity to Niue.

He first told the story about Uea and Niumaga, the men who went off in a foreign ship in the pagan times, to the relatives of these two when they came and questioned him. The *taula-atua* said that Uea and Niumaga still lived. But the parents wailed for their children because they thought that they had died. The *taula-atua*, however, said that they were still alive. When the time came for them to turn back, the *taula-atua* said that they were getting ready to turn back, and that they would bring back many earrings, shiny earrings. As soon as the people learned about the prophesy of the *taula-atua* they went and bargained for the earrings from the parent of Uea, Tulitoa. But the children did not as yet arrive. Then Uea and Niumaga came back, and they brought the earrings with them. But they found that all of the earrings had already been traded away, they had none left to dispose of themselves.

The *taula-atua* also predicted the coming of Nukia (Peniamina). He said that Nukia was about to come back bringing a very small object, which was called a book (*tohi*), and that he would say that there was but one god in the sky. Then Nukai came back, and the words of the *taula-atua* were true. Some of the chiefs of Mutalau already knew about the god in the sky before Nukai came. That is why the chiefs of Mutalau so quickly accepted the words of God.

The people of Mutalau no longer listened to Nukai, after he misbehaved himself. They were ready, however, to understand the words of Paulo, when he came from Samoa. It is needless to say that all skepticism was not removed at once, or in fact has it ever been entirely eliminated from the minds of the people. A native says:

When the good talk about Jesus Christ began, Mutalau was the first village to uphold the word of God on Niue Island. The people of that village first learned that there was a God in the heavens. They rejoiced and they prayed to the true God. Then the news spread around the island, thusly, "the people of Mutalau are very glad because they know of a new god." Now there was a certain man of Tuapa who heard of the manner in which Mutalau was rejoicing, and so he went up to that village and sang a mocking song:



Mutalau fiala teao,  
 Ne liogi ke o hake kehe  
 Atua; ati koe fe e Atua ia?  
 He iō, he iō!  
 Ti liogi ke o hake kehe  
 Atua; ati koe fe e Atua ia?

Mutalau rejoiced for nothing,  
 They prayed to go up to their  
 God; but where is that God?  
 Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha!  
 They prayed to go up to their  
 God; but where is that God?

But in the days that followed they took the good word around the island to the different villages. Then the word of Christ was heard at Tuapa, and the man who sang the song about Mutalau saw that there was real peace. When he saw with his own eyes that there was real peace he sang another song in praise of the times of peace:

Mitaki tugi e mafola;  
 Mitaki to fakafahina,  
 Mitaki tugi e mafola.

Being peaceful is very good;  
 Let us be peaceful together,  
 Being peaceful is fine.

The greatest obstacle which Paulo and the early Samoan missionaries encountered was the overcoming of the influence exerted by the *taula-atua*. These shamans had gained their influence over the people through their alleged inspiration by the *tupua*, or gods; therefore, if the people discarded their beliefs in the *tupua*, they would, of necessity, be forced to disbelieve in the inspirational powers of the *taula-atua*. In the bitter fight which occurred between the missionaries and the shamans, the missionaries seized upon the idea of attributing all misfortunes which befell the *taula-atua* to the direct wrath of God.

In the following miraculous punishment, said to have been visited upon Fanoheone, a woman *taula-atua* of Tuapa, the pattern idea is recognized as being purely Samoan, for punishments of this nature were believed to have befallen the pagan Samoans when they were foolish enough to eat an animal tapu to their family.

When Christianity came to the island the people said to Fanoheone, "Leave off your kind of work, Oh Fanoheone, for you do nought but deceive the people." But Fanoheone refused to listen to the advice of the people.

Some time after this it so happened that an *uga* crawled into the house in which Fanoheone lived. This happened upon the Sabbath Day. Fanoheone seized the *uga*, and put it in the fire. She did this in spite of the fact that the day was tapu, being the Holy Day. Then she ate.

The people came afterwards to Fanoheone and rebuked her, "Today is the Sabbath. Do not kill live animals on this day. There is a true God in the heavens, but your gods are only deceiving gods."

But the *taula-atua* replied, "My gods are the true gods."

Some days passed. Then the *taula-atua* went lame, and she had to crawl about like an *uga*. It was therefore said of her that she was cursed because she had cooked and eaten an *uga* on the Sabbath. The God in the heavens was wroth with her, and she crawled on the ground like an *uga* until the day that she died.

The following are native accounts. The most famous *taula-atua* at the time of Paulo, was Mulia of Lakepa.

Mulia was the son of Uihagatau and Ikitau. He was the chief *taula-atua* on the Island of Niue. He was constantly angry, and he never prayed. He once made a feast and ate it in the Christian church. Then he got up and danced with his war club and beat upon his wooden drum, crying out, "Jesus shall die, Jesus shall die." After this he strode up and down the aisles of the church with his spears and clubs. Finally he went outside to the church grounds and dug up the earth with his spear; he buried the spear in the soil, again giving the curse, "Jesus shall die."

The brother-in-law of Mulia was converted to Christianity, but presently went insane.

Uhimaka, the brother-in-law, went to the church at Mutalau. He slept in the church over night, and when he woke up the next morning he was insane. He then went with an axe and chopped off the head of Mulia's wife. At daylight he fled and climbed a tree in order to commit suicide. He failed to kill himself, and the people from Mutalau found him lying on the ground that same day and started to carry him away. But the troops from Mulia were lying in wait on the road and they seized Uhimaka and cut off his head with an axe. Then they took the body of Mulia's wife, and the body of Uhimaka and threw them both into the sea.

Sometime later Mulia invited Fakailikula, an important *taula-atua* from the west side of the island, to come to Lakepa and eat a feast, which his relatives had prepared.

They chose the Sabbath Day for the feast. They held it on this day for the purpose of acting contrary to the word of the God of Paulo. As soon as Fakailikula arrived at the feasting place, they commenced to fight against the God in the sky. They first performed the war dance, and then they threw their spears into the air, in order to wound the God in the skies, and thus kill him. Presently they heard Paulo ringing the church bell in Mutalau. Then they rang their bell, only they did this by beating the hollow log drum. Finally they threw up some stones and some more spears into the sky, calling out, "Let the God in the sky die, being killed by us!" Then they ate the feast.

When the feast was finished Fakailikula and his relatives turned to go back to Hikutavake. Night came on, however, before they arrived, and the *taula-atua* became sick. He was unable to eat any of the things that had been given him at the feast. He directed his family that they should carry him down to the waters at Matapa, for if he once bathed there he would be strong again. But Fakailikula died on the way.

Mulia, the *taula-atua* of Lakepa died very shortly afterwards. Then both of these *taula-atua* were dead. It was the true God who killed them in order to put an end to their lying.

According to another account of Mulia, and probably a more correct one, this famous *taula-atua* became converted to Christianity before he died. The manner of his conversion bears a striking, and probably not a fortuitous, resemblance to the conversion of the Hebrew Paul.

The *toa* of Mutalau, who were doing the work of God, heard that there lived in Lakepa a savage chief, who was disobeying God's word. So two *toa* of Mutalau went down to take the Bible and convert Mulia. When they arrived outside of the house

of the *taula-atua* they took a stick and planting it in the ground they called out to their would-be disciple, "This is the Holy Ghost (*Agaaga Tapu*) that grows here." Then they turned to go home.

When Mulia heard himself called, he rushed out of the house in a wild fury. He did the war dance and knocked down the image planted by the *toa*. Then seeing a long worm, called a *kelimutu*, he picked it up and threw it on the road down which the *toa* were going. "Come back and take your Holy Ghost," he called out.

One day Mulia saw that the lightning was flashing, and he started to become angry at the gods who lived in the sky. So he danced the war dance and threw his spears into the sky in order to kill the gods who lived in that region. Presently the lightning became very intense, and the word of God came down in forked flashes. Suddenly Mulia became blinded, and he fell grovelling to the ground. When he arose to his feet he could once more see. After this he accepted the word of God, and he prayed and bowed down to the ground incessantly. He was always talking about the death of Jesus, saying, "Since the kind Jesus was crucified, Mulia will be kind like Jesus."

But Christianity did not overcome the belief in the *taula-atua*, for while they no longer became inspired by the *tupua*, or gods, yet the *aitu*, or ghosts, became a fitting substitute. These *aitu* were a Samoan importation, and when once brought over by the credulous Samoan missionaries, they soon took root in the Niuean mind to a far greater extent than the former *agaaga*, or indigenous ghost, had ever done. (See also pp. 88, 158.)

The people had already a vague belief in the home of Maui under the earth, to which the spirits of the departed betook themselves, and a rather more definite belief in the land of Hina in the second heaven, but they had no belief that the good souls were relegated there; in fact they made fun of the Mutalau conception of floating up to this heaven. In view of these already existing culture concepts, it was not very difficult for the Samoans to change the land of Maui to the land of Po, or eternal night (Hades), nor the land of eternal daylight to the land of eternal bliss (Heaven). Somewhat more difficulty was encountered, however, in the attempted substitution of an abstract deity for the Niuean Tagaloa. The people felt, and they still feel, that they need a god whom they can see, and who will be near at hand to them in case of need. The imperfection of this latter substitution may be realized from the following chant which is even at the present day given at the village churches.

Iehopa E!  
Kia fakamonuina e atu pulapulaola,  
Fakamonuina e atu mate niu.  
Fakamonuina e atu tolotolopulu.  
Fakamonuina e atu gaenui.  
Fakamonuina e atu mokotola.  
Fakamonuina e atu fufua manu.  
Fakamonuina e atu penupenu.  
Fakamonuina e atu tuketuke.

Oh! Jehovah!  
Bless the grandchildren.  
Bless the eldest sons.  
Bless the babies.  
Bless the babies that are still unborn.  
Bless the newly born male babies.  
Bless the newly born female babies.  
Bless the old people.  
Bless the old and crippled.



Fakamonuina e atu ufi auna.  
 Mono, monu, Tagaloo, mate ūfi  
 Tali mate hohogo mate alamai.  
 Aua neke mate he mate a kuma,  
 Ka kia mate he mate a mahina,  
 Ha kua mate ala mai a ia.  
 Monu Tagaloo.  
 Fakamonuina e laga luga hihipa taka-  
 takatiala ketuketu,  
 Tuafale fiti tuakeho ke puto he kupega  
 a Iesu.  
 Monu Tagaloo.  
 Kia hake matagi malie laga muiana mua  
 hake e peau.  
 Tane mui hake e peau fifine,  
 Kiliatofia ke fakalanu aki ha malu tau  
 hala.  
 Monu Tagaloo.  
 Haele mai a ke tu he tuula,  
 Fati e maala.  
 Kitukitu-ē-ā!

Bless the dead.  
 Blessings, Oh God of the Rainbow, die,  
 But die to come to life again.<sup>5</sup>  
 Do not die the death of the rat,  
 But die like the moon,  
 For the moon dies and comes to life  
 again.  
 Blessings, Oh Tagaloo.  
 Bless the proud and the wicked people,  
 Place thy spirit in their minds that  
 they may be caught in the fish net  
 of Jesus.  
 Blessings, Oh Tagaloo.  
 Create favorable winds to blow up the  
 waves.  
 Let the men come first and the women  
 follow after.<sup>6</sup>  
 He will come down and wash our sins  
 away.  
 Blessings, Oh Tagaloo.  
 Come down and stand in the pulpit  
 And preach the gospel.  
 Amen.

### THE NEW LAWS

The first written laws that were given to Niue were formulated by the Rev. F. E. Lawes in 1875. During the period of Samoan missionary rule, however, the people were subjected to such discipline as the Samoan teachers thought befitting. The punishments that were imposed upon the Niueans were, no doubt, for the most part given as penalties for adultery and wife stealing, ordinary theft occupying a second place. While the punishments assigned may appear somewhat harsh to Anglo-Saxons and to the present generation of Niueans, yet they were mild as compared to the former system of blood revenge and retaliation.

A native says:

"The first men who were punished were Togoa and Fakamoutoa. Their punishment consisted in having to build a road fifty fathoms in length. After this the men were tied to trees and flogged, and finally they were imprisoned in a cave for thirty days."

Paulo appears to have been rather ingenious as a disciplinarian. He introduced the custom of placing the natives in stocks. These stocks were very simply made by the felling of a tree, and the boring of holes for the feet of the occupants, and were kept in dark caves. I knew of one such

<sup>5</sup> The people of Niue had this conception of resurrection before the days of Christian influence.

<sup>6</sup> This line probably has reference to the segregation of the sexes in the present day churches. This is a relic of the past, for women did not partake of the sacrificial feasts on the *faituga*, nor in the kava ceremonials.



cave at Tuapa and one at Mutalau. Presumably the prisoners were put in caves in order to work upon their nerves through their fear of ghosts. This form of punishment must have proven very effective. According to a Mutalau informant, a certain man and his wife were punished by being placed opposite each other with their feet securely fastened in the stocks. After they had spent ten days secured in this fashion they were let loose. They then planned to commit suicide together. The wife jumped off the cliffs and landed in a shallow portion of the sea. She broke a number of her bones, but survived. The husband, however, was afraid to jump. After this they separated and both married again.

Thomson (18, p. 65) states that when Hood visited Niue in 1862, a boy was lashed hand and foot to a bamboo for several days with just sufficient food to keep the life in him, as a punishment for tattooing himself after the Samoan fashion, to the scandal of the Niueans who were never tattooed. Needless to say, this was an ancient punishment; only it was an ancient punishment of Samoa not of Niue. It was the missionaries, and not the natives, who objected to the tattooing.

It is needless to enter further into the missionary history of Niue. The island was fortunate in obtaining the services of the Rev. F. E. Lawes as the first permanent European resident missionary. He served the people faithfully, and without thought of personal pecuniary profit. The laws which he drew up in 1875 were similar to the present laws governing the island, and bear no trace of religious fanaticism.

During the period of European missionary rule, the island took upon itself a new order of Kings. They were as follows:

Tuitoga, anointed March 2, 1876, died July 13, 1887.

Fataaiki, anointed November 21, 1888, died December 15, 1896.

Togia, anointed June 30, 1898, died in recent times.

#### EUROPEAN CONTACT

In relating a few additional facts concerning the contacts which Niue made with the European world, I propose only to present certain records given to me by the natives, avoiding a repetition of matter readily accessible in print.

About the year 1840 an unknown ship anchored off of Avatele—the first recorded visit to the island since the return of Uea. Naturally the natives were not in an hospitable frame of mind, and when a party of marines landed on the beach at Oneonepata, the natives lined up on the cliffs above and threw down rocks and spears on the strangers. The marines

fired a volley, and killed one man, Tamouga. Then they returned to their vessel and left the island.

From this time on the Samoan missionaries continued their efforts to land Samoan teachers on the island. Several failures were encountered but in 1846 the "John Williams" succeeded in gaining a landing for Peniamina. Peniamina was not successful as a teacher; but three years later, in 1849, Paulo was sent to the island. Beginning with 1840 the island was visited by a few unrecorded whalers and merchant ships.

An account (undated) tells of a shipwreck off the coast of Avatele. Some bags of money drifted ashore. The natives gathered around them, but could see no use in these curious kinds of golden and silver coins. Some genius then perceived that the coins would come in handy for their game of skipping stones. So everybody took a hand in casting the money back again into the sea, where it has remained to this day.

Captain Erskine touched at Niue in the "Havannah" on July 6th, 1849, a few months before Paulo reached the island, but did not land owing to the heavy westward swell. The natives record that a man by the name of Metutela was the first to be allowed on board this ship. He went out in his four seated canoe, and surprised the captain by giving the Samoan greeting of "*alofa*." Erskine was somewhat taken back at the knowledge displayed by the native, and allowed the man and his companions to come on board. It appears that "*alofa*" was the limit of conversation, however, between the natives and the whites. The Niueans obtained some tobacco from the strangers, but not knowing what to do with it, they brought it ashore for further investigation and proceeded to cook it in their umu. After it was well baked, they all ate some to their distress. The present natives are well acquainted with the weed, and all of the men, and many women smoke but none chew tobacco, which has become so much of a necessity to them that they would prefer going without food than a smoke. At one time the entire male population of Tuapa was excommunicated from the church because after a prolonged famine in tobacco they had sinned by buying on Sunday a newly arrived supply.

In 1852 Paulo had made considerable progress in his teachings at Mutalau. Notwithstanding this fact, the people of that town had a disastrous experience with a British man-of-war. In the course of this encounter three ancestors of my informant, Toafofia, lost their lives. It appears that a few months before, either a Spanish or a Portuguese had foundered off the coast at Tepa. The shipwrecked crew gained the coast at Avatele on a raft. They left a dog there, the first the island had seen, and then proceeded to make their way to Samoa. Presently the captain of

this ship came back in a British man-of-war, in an attempt to recover his ship's papers and other articles of value. The man-of-war anchored off Tuapa, and the people of that village and of Mutalau went off to her in their canoes in order to purchase axes and other European supplies. Presently the Englishmen discovered that a native had taken some articles without paying for them. Smith (15) relates:

Upon this discovery, the whole party was thrown into confusion; some of the natives who were on board were secured at once, and boats were lowered to follow those who were returning to the shore. Canoes were capsized and broken; the natives were pursued and fired upon, and beaten in every direction. One man died in the sea of shot wounds, and several others were detained on board the ship for two days; when, early in the morning, two of the natives thus confined were released, while the ship was near the shore, and they landed in safety, but later in the day others were put overboard, three of whom landed half dead the next day; but nine of the party lost their lives.

The names of the three men who swam to shore were Togavale, Toimata and Pukutea. They were put off the ship far at sea, and had to swim for an entire day. When evening arrived the three survivors made the shore at Makalea, for Toimata was very strong and he was able to assist Togavale to the land. When he went back to aid Pukutea, however, he had already sunk beneath the waves. The first two men have died only in recent times.

According to an Avatele version of this story the English people became angry at the natives, not because they stole, but because they painted their teeth with the red juice of the *hulahula* bananas! At any rate this is the song that one of the survivors was supposed to have sung upon reaching the shore:

Fufu e evali he  
 Tau gutu.  
 Kula vali noa ke  
 Tuga moa tau kai tagata.  
 Ati tolo ai ki tahi.  
 Kua fiafia au ha kua moui.

We hid the paints  
 In our mouths.  
 We only painted (our teeth) red  
 So as to look like cannibals.  
 Then we were thrown into the sea.  
 I rejoiced because I lived.

After Niue had become Christianized the island soon became an easy prey for the slaver and wandering "black birder." Before this time the savage reputation of the natives had kept away boats of this type. Smith relates a story concerning a Callao slaver who came in 1861 and carried off about 200 of the natives, most of whom were left to die at Sunday Island. Bully Hayes was also guilty of kidnapping some of the natives and selling them at Tahiti. The greatest damage that was done to the people of the island, however, was the taking away of the young men to work at other islands under "the contract system." The Polynesian native is not adapted



to continuous work at high pressure, and, moreover, the island could ill afford to spare the best portion of its male population. Under the wise regulations of the New Zealand government, there are but few men at present who are permitted to leave the island and work in other regions.

There is reason to believe that in German Samoa, at any rate, the contract system came pretty close to actual slavery. The following native account refers to two men, out of a group of thirty, who were taken away to German Samoa.

These two men were called Kaihamu and Atutoga, and they were ordered by a German at Samoa to go to Tokelau. But the two refused to go. So the European tied them up and carried them down to the boat. Thus the men were forced to go, but they cried because they feared that they were being taken away forever. They were forced to work at Tokelau for a number of years in loading copra, and then they were brought back to Samoa. This is the song that Kaihamu sang upon his return to Samoa:

Haku lima tui  
 Polotata ke uta ki  
 Tokelau, kae timagao  
 Au he mamao.  
 Haku lima tui  
 Polotata. Aukiala nae  
 Kau matamata au  
 Ho fonua moe kitekite  
 Ho fale koloa ato  
 Uta au ke polatata.  
 Ake uta au tukua mo lagoonui.  
 Haku lima tui polotata.

My hands were tied  
 Together to be taken to  
 Tokelau, but I did not wish to go  
 For it was too far.  
 My hands were tied  
 Together. Oh, wait awhile and  
 Let me look once more at  
 My home and my possessions, before  
 You tie me up and take me away.  
 I was taken to pour out  
 Sacks of copra.  
 My hands were tied together.

Sometimes great hardships were encountered in the labor trips. On one occasion a number of the people were taken to dig guano at Tufua, but no provision was made for them. Some made houses out of grass, and others lived in the holes in the trees. Presently they finished all of their provisions, and in spite of the protestations of the overseer, the people refused to continue their work. Before the natives managed to get away from the island fifteen of the men died either from starvation or from disease.

It is apparent, then, that Mr. Lawes, during the time that he was the virtual ruler over Niue, was powerless to prevent the exploitation of the natives by unscrupulous foreigners, but he did shut out the rum trade by a law easy to enforce as the Niueans had no native intoxicating drink.

The only cargo of liquor ever landed on Niue arrived accidentally. It appears that a slaver came to the island for the purpose of stealing men for the Peruvian mines. Captain Scott, the owner of the boat, happened to be drunk when the time came for making anchorage, and as a result his boat was wrecked off Hio, Tuapa. A goodly amount of liquor was salvaged from the wreck and brought to the shore at Tuapa. The natives proceeded at



once to pour the liquor from the casks into the sea. This act of sabotage met with the opposition of Captain Scott, who appeared on the scene armed with his rifle threatening to shoot the first man who laid hands on his cargo. The natives then desisted, but upon gaining the approval of Mr. Lawes returned and completed their work. Captain Scott failed to fulfill his threats, and was forced to live upon the hospitality of the island until another boat came to take him away.

### HISTORICAL DATES

- 1774 Captain James Cook discovered Niue
- 1830 Rev. John Williams called at Niue and took two Niue lads to Samoa
- 1846 Gospel brought to Niue from Samoa by Peniamina, a Niuean
- 1849 Gospel brought to Niue from Samoa by Paulo, a Samoan
- 1849 Commodore J. E. Erskine visited Niue in HMS "Havannah"
- 1852 The frigate "Eugenie" arrived at Niue
- 1861 Dr. George Lawes arrived in Niue—the first Missionary
- 1863 Peruvian slavers carried off about 150 Niueans
- 1867 Mission Ship "John Williams" wrecked at Lepetu, Makefu
- 1866 First trader, Mr. Patterson, commenced business at Makaheheke, Alofi
- 1868 Rev. F. E. Lawes arrived
- 1872 Dr. George Lawes left Niue
- 1872 Brig. "Ocean," Captain Lyons, wrecked at Tuapa
- 1876 Mataio Tuitoga appointed King
- 1877 Barque "Irole," Captain Scott, wrecked at Tuapa
- 1879 Sir Arthur Gordon, High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, visited Niue and appointed Mr. R. H. Head Acting Deputy Commissioner
- 1887 Mataio Tuitoga died
- 1887 Niueans applied to Queen Victoria to be taken under British Protection
- 1888 Fataaiki appointed King
- 1896 Fataaiki died
- 1898 Togia appointed King
- 1899 Niueans again applied to Queen Victoria for protection
- 1900 Basil Thomson, Envoy Plenipotentiary proclaimed Niue a British Protectorate
- 1900 Lord Ranfurly, Governor of New Zealand visited Niue and formally annexed the island
- 1901 Mr. S. Percy Smith, first Resident Agent, arrived
- 1901 "The Cook and other Islands Government Act, 1901" became law and Niue placed under Raratonga for administrative purposes
- 1901 Mr. S. Percy Smith left Niue
- 1902 Mr. C. F. Maxwell, Resident Agent, arrived
- 1903 "The Cook and Other Islands Act Amendment Act, 1903" became law and Niue was granted separate administration under a Resident Commissioner, to which position Mr. C. F. Maxwell was appointed
- 1907 Mr. C. F. Maxwell left Niue
- 1907 Mr. H. G. Cornwall, Resident Commissioner, arrived, vice Mr. C. F. Maxwell
- 1909 German Scientific Expedition in S. S. "Natuna" spent one day at the island
- 1909 First Government School opened at Tufukia, Alofi
- 1909 Rev. Gavin Smith arrived
- 1910 Rev. F. E. Lawes left Niue
- 1911 First Government Medical Officer, Dr. C. H. Schumacher, arrived
- 1913 HMS "Torch" visited Niue

- 1913 Rev. Gavin Smith left Niue  
1914 Rev. J. H. Cullen arrived  
1914 HMS "Philomel" visited Niue.  
1915 Contingent of 150 Niueans left for New Zealand en route to France  
1916 "The Cook Islands Act, 1915" came into operation  
1917 Togia, the last king of Niue, died  
1917 Mr. H. G. Cornwall, left Niue  
1917 HMS "Encounter" visited Niue seeking crew of "See Adler"  
1918 HMS "Fantome" visited Niue seeking crew of "See Adler"  
1918 Mr. G. N. Morris, Resident Commissioner, arrived  
1919 Schooner "Awanui," Captain R. Anderson, wrecked at Alofi  
1919 Rev. J. H. Cullen died  
1920 Parliamentary party from New Zealand under Sir James Allen visited Niue  
1920 Government School opened at Tuatam, Hakupu  
1920 Schooner "Jubilee" lost at sea with all hands while en route from Auckland to Niue  
1920 Rev. C. Beharell arrived  
1921 Mr. J. C. Evison, Resident Commissioner, arrived  
1921 Mr. R. H. Head, the pioneer of Niue, died, aged 88  
1921 Murder of Constable Hegotule at Makefu by Matiu  
1921 HMS "Veronica" visited Niue.  
1921 HMS "Chatham" visited Niue  
1921 French sloop "Aldebaron" visited Niue  
1922 HMS "Chatham" and "Veronica" visited Niue  
1922 Mr. J. C. Evison left Niue  
1922 Lord Liverpool Hospital opened at Tufukia, Alofi  
1922 Mr. G. N. Morris, Resident Commissioner, arrived.

## THE PEOPLE OF NIUE

The natives of Niue are undoubtedly of Polynesian stock. Just what relation they bear to other branches of the stock has not been determined. (See page 24.) Certain of their more obvious physical characteristics are illustrated in Plates III and IV. The nose is quite broad compared to that of other branches of the race; on the other hand, the lips are not inclined to be over-thick, and the hair, as a rule, is wavy, not frizzy, negative evidence of a close alliance to the Melanesian strain. (See pp. 11, 23 for comparison of Motu and Tafiti characteristics.)

That mental characteristics of a people cannot be gaged numerically is unfortunate, since so few observations have been recorded of Niue natives that they cannot be considered apart from personal bias. Thomson (18) had but little opportunity to observe the people because of the shortness of his stay on the island, and while his delineation of the character of King Tongia is a masterpiece, the characteristics of one old man can hardly be taken as representative of a people. Smith, the only trained observer to take up his residence on the island, was forced by his position as Commissioner to be very cautious in his appraisals.

The Polynesian people are frequently referred to as the "snobs of the Pacific." Nothing could be more false in referring to the people of Niue. In a land where there is so little division of labor, where an inherited priesthood and kingship is unknown, and where anyone, no matter how poorly born, can rise up and gain the high rank of *toa* by his own strength and courage, the use of the word aristocracy is indeed a misnomer. Long droughts and a natural scarcity of food developed more energy and a more industrious character in the Niuean than in some of his Polynesian neighbors, a fact which had the unpleasant result of attracting black-birders. Generally speaking, the present day native is peaceful, law abiding, and rather timid.

The island is very isolated, and as yet has neither cable nor wireless communication with the outside world, nor has it gained an adequate means of transportation. It is not self-supporting, but depends entirely upon the copra crop for its export returns. Both the present Acting Commissioner, Mr. G. N. Morris, and the past commissioner, Mr. J. C. Evison, have done much toward gaining the confidence of the natives, and in inaugurating constructive policies. A splendid hospital has been built in Tufukia, and the training of native nurses has been undertaken. In Alofi and Hakupu, edu-

cation of the children is committed to the care of the Government. In the remaining villages the schools are still under the supervision of the London Missionary Society. Illiteracy is very rare among the present generation.

In order to protect the youth of the island from the type of moving picture that finds its way to the South Seas, the present Commissioner has opposed the introduction of the cinematograph. In the last few years the Niueans have imported the foreign trait of theater going; but their native plays, called *kifaga*, resemble mildly those of the London music hall. It is probable that track and allied sports will gain in popularity in the future, especially if these forms of wholesome competition gain the support and encouragement of the Government officials. The germ for the success of this form of native activity lies in the present feeling of village competition, and in the love of the people for the native games of running, throwing, and swimming.

Niue is not an ideal home for the white man, but the natives can live there in a fair degree of comfort and happiness. Nukai once gave me his impressions of a visit he paid to New Zealand.

I did not like it, everywhere you see people who have no good clothes, no good food. The crippled and the poor come to you and say, Give! Give! Here it is different. Mr. Morris [Resident Commissioner] and I, we wear the same kind of clothing. There is no lack of food and houses. There is not a beggar on the island; that is why we have families. There is plenty for everyone in the sea, and in the bush. Your land is cold, but here it is always warm, and there is *fakalofa* for all.

According to the Resident Commissioner, there is no criminal class in Niue. Serious crimes are rare. A few years ago a native policeman was murdered, but with a certain amount of provocation for the act. Being of illegitimate birth, he was much looked down upon, so that his abuse of his authority was particularly trying.

An examination of the court docket for 1922 shows that immorality and adultery rank first among offenses, followed in turn by petty theft, assault without intent to kill, use of obscene language, permitting animals to wander, trespass, indecency, disorderly conduct, polluting water, and selling rotten copra.

The native word for prisoner is *faihala*, or road maker. A word had to be coined under the rule of the whites, since the custom of taking prisoners was unknown even in the days of warfare. While it is technically true that a person convicted of a misdemeanor has the option of paying a money fine, the majority of convicted natives prefer, or their poverty compels them, to work out the fine on the road. During the period of such work the prisoner is neither compelled to wear a distinctive garb nor to sleep away from



home. Some natives are constantly falling into the clutches of the law court.

The natives of Niue have two standards of honesty. One controls their relations with members of their own family; the other, modified to fit the occasion, regulates their dealings with "outsiders," including members of their own race. Stealing among members of a family is unthinkable. At an early age children are whipped into respect of property rights among the members of their families. Two or three traditions are related of children who, persisting in this offence, were taken down to the sea by their fathers, and set adrift in leaky canoes. In my own *kaina* I had the status of a relative (*magafaoa*), and left money and valuables lying around loose without fear of loss.

But the propensity towards petty theft from outsiders has caused much friction with the white people. To take the goods of their enemies, the Niueans considered praiseworthy. Many of the gods of the people were dedicated to the art of theft, and many of the stories which the people now tell were handed down in glorification of the achievements of some successful robber.

One of the most famous of these stories concerns Tuhega, an ancestor of the Alofi people. He was accustomed to steal *tuhoi* (prepared wild yams) from the women, taking care to avoid those who had brothers to defend them. So successful was he in his operations that he was joined in his enterprises by a group of his relatives, but who finally became afraid of him and put him to death. Nowadays, Tuhega is spoken of as a wicked man, but in former times he was no doubt both feared and respected.

Before the coming of the white man, the only penalty for theft committed by a stranger was death. Whether this penalty could, or could not, be enforced, depended upon the relative sizes of the contending families. Many of the petty wars of the ancient days were occasioned by an act of petty theft. Some of the *toa* were more energetic than others in defending their property rights. The following is a native account:

Fakahuikula lived in Hakupu. He was a man of great temper, and he was very churlish (*fulukovi*). He gathered crabs, pigeons, and flying fox in the bush. If he caught anybody in his bush, he killed the man. Then he lifted up the body and bound it to the trunk of a tree. He ruled in this manner also on the sea, for if he caught anybody on his portion of the sea, he killed the man and thus made *tapu* the sea. He did likewise in the burnt bush [*manunu*]; if he caught anybody in his portion of the burnt bush he was sure to kill the man. Thus his customs were the very worst possible. He killed fifty men in all.

Whenever a feast was given, he was always sure to obtain a large share. Kavetoa was another *toa*. He was greatly beloved by the people and received many

gifts of crabs, pigeons, and flying fox. But the people were afraid to give gifts to Kavetoa without at the same time offering gifts to Fakahuikula.

Regardless of the opinions of the present Christian natives concerning the conduct of Fakahuikula, there can be no question that he was acting within his legal rights. His efficiency did not make him beloved by the people, but it brought him the respect to which he felt entitled.

Adultery is considered the same as theft among the people of Niue, as among most primitive people. It was, and still is, quite as common as other forms of theft. The following native account is enlightening concerning the punishment of this crime.

Two *toa* lived in Makefu. One day they went up and courted [*lamati*] the wife of Pakutoga. After some time had passed, they returned home again. When Pakutoga returned to his *kaina*, he heard the story about his wife. Then he cursed the two thieves. The two men of evil customs heard that a curse had been uttered by Pakutoga and they were very angry. One of them said to the other, "Let us go up and visit the home of Pakutoga and tear out his tongue." The other man joyfully agreed to this proposal. So the two went up to the *kaina* of Pakutoga, in order to tear out his tongue.

When the men arrived they saw Pakutoga, and they called out to him thusly, "Why do you come limping up to us, you worthless fellow? Now we are going to tear your tongue out."

Pakutoga replied, "Come, and we shall see."

The two men threw at Pakutoga, but Pakutoga dodged the stones and they missed him. Then Pakutoga ran with a stone, and letting it fly, struck one of the men upon the knee. The stone then slipped past and broke the foot of the other man. The men both fell to the ground and Pakutoga beat them with his club, but he did not kill them.<sup>7</sup>

Pakutoga sent word down to the relatives of the two men that they should come up and carry their men away. When the relatives heard the story of Pakutoga, they laughed and jeered at him. But Pakutoga said to them, "Do not laugh now, first come up and see. Then laugh if you wish to." The relatives ran up, and when they reached the *kaina* of Pakutoga, they saw the two *toa* stretched out on the *male* (field).

In the olden days if a man wished to be always boasting with his mouth, he had to be something of a *toa*.

According to their own accounts, the Niueans have been, and still are, treacherous. The means by which they were accustomed to betray the enemy into ambush were extremely numerous and ingenious. This was accounted fair play. The treachery consisted rather in the betrayal of friends. It may well be, that the people have always had a particular aversion for treacherous behaviour and hence have overemphasized the stories which deal with treachery, neglecting to relate the more numerous stories of faithful friendships.

<sup>7</sup> If Pakutoga had wished to kill the men he would have pierced them with the point of his *katoua*. By simply beating them with the flat surface, he increased the indignity imposed upon them.

The best known story of a betrayal is that relating to Gai and Matagi. The incident took place at Liku, shortly before the advent of Christianity.

The troops lay in ambush at Ulumago. Gai went down to the sea at Tautu, and Matagi went up to visit Mokatagaloa, one of his wives, at Tumatagi. She lived in Tafiti, and was a very good woman.

Soon afterwards Gai and Matagi met, and they wrestled together. Gai was defeated in the wrestling bout. When it was finished Matagi brushed himself off, and opening up his bag he took out some oil and anointed his hair and head. Then Gai said, "Oh Matagi, let your hair flow down loose when we go up. Then when your wife, Mokatagaloa, sees you coming from a distance you will appear as if you come from the skies." Matagi prepared his hair after this fashion, and he also made for himself a double branched nose-flute. Then the two went up the path. As soon as they reached the ambush the troops rushed out from their place of concealment. The troops seized hold of Matagi's hair, which was flowing loose, and killed him. Matagi had let his hair fly loose because he had been evilly advised by Gai.

Another story relates how an elder brother betrayed his younger brother. The two had engaged in a wrestling match, and the elder brother had been defeated and trampled upon. The elder brother then fled to Hikutavake, and betrayed the sleeping-place of his brother to the hostile troops. The troops came down in the night and killed the sleeping man.

Still another story relates to two friends, Tipolo and Tikoa. Tikoa desired to have the wife of Tipolo for himself. Tikoa already had one wife, but he wished to have his friend's wife also. One day the two men were fishing beside one another in their canoes. Tikoa asked Tipolo for a light from his torch. When Tipolo came along side him, Tikoa hit him over the head with his paddle and killed him. Then Tikoa returned to the shore, and eventually married the widow.

The natives say that the custom of betraying friends is practiced even at the present time. One woman will often make friends with another for the sole purpose of stealing her husband. If two men are friends, and one feels himself slighted, he will attempt to betray the other into the hands of the law courts by means of a false accusation. The law court now takes the place of the hostile army of the olden days.

A very proud race, the Niueans were prone to commit suicide upon slight provocation. It was customary for the party defeated in war to jump off the cliffs, and not uncommon for the nearest relatives of a deceased person to kill themselves out of excess of grief. It is related that a father of a family having been drowned while fishing, his two sons waited until morning, and then jumped off the cliffs. Another story tells that the wife of a man named Tufonua died. His love for his wife was still strong, and he therefore determined to die so he climbed up a fetau tree thirty fathoms



high. He leaped from the top, but landed unhurt on his feet. Tufonua thought that he had been saved by the interception of the gods, and he therefore went away in peace.

Shame was a common cause of suicide. Three women once made a suicide pact. One because she conceived out of wedlock, another because she was lame, and the third simply because she lived alone in the house of her brother. A young man committed suicide by eating fish which he knew to be poisonous. He did this merely because he had been "turned down" by some pretty girls. Suicide is rare at the present day.

The old time Niueans were not gamblers. Even at the present day games of chance or skill are not played for wagers. Formerly prizes, such as tapa cloth or pigeons, were given as awards for foot racing or the game of *tika*. Nowadays the villages play against one another at cricket merely for the honor of winning.

At first thought it would appear that the economic arrangements of Polynesian family life would discourage gambling. If the bettor lost, he would be out of pocket, and if he won, he would be unable to keep the articles gained, due to the claims of the remaining members of his family. The fact remains, however, that the Maoris and the Hawaiians, whose economic life is parallel to that of the people of Niue, always have been gamblers. It would appear, therefore, that the passion for gambling is neither instinctive nor an adjustment to the economic lives of a people. It is merely a matter of custom; that is to say, it lies in the mores under which the people grow up, and to which they adjust themselves in an entirely unconscious manner.



## GOVERNMENT AND RANK

## THE KINGSHIP

The word used to designate the office of king was *patuiki*, derived from the combination of *patu* and *iki*, both meaning chief. The Niueans also used *tui* in the same sense, but this word is the most archaic of the three. But while only strong men were chosen as chiefs, for the position of *patuiki*, inconsequential men might be chosen.

Complete agreement exists among all authorities that the system of kingships in Niue was inaugurated at the beginning of the 18th century and lasted only to the beginning of the 19th century. Since kingship was not inherited, and the kings themselves accounted relatively unimportant, the exact dating and naming of the holders of the office is unknown. No two informants present similar lists of the kings, and the natives admit that no man in the island has full and correct knowledge.

According to information obtained, the kings following Mutalau were: (1) Leivalu; (2) Hetalagi; (3) Fakahinaiki; (4) Punimata; (5) Ihuga; (6) Patuavalu; (7) Galiaga; (8) Fokimata; (9) Pakieto. Only one informant mentions the name Leivalu and another the name Ihuga. Two informants writing separately agree on the names Hetalagi and Fakahinaiki. The remaining kings are certainly correctly named and numbered. There are no traditions relating to the first three kings. The following stories of the other kings are based on accounts given by Toa Folia in the native missionary magazine (19), supplemented by information obtained from other sources:

Punimata, said to be very handsome, was anointed at Makatea in Hakupu. His wife was Fineone. The people of the island carried this king to Fatuaua, Tuapa, where he resided. The people gave him and his wife the chasm at Matapa for a bathing place. Punimata died of old age and was buried at Hopuo.

Of the next *patuiki*, Ihuga, nothing is related other than that he was a brave warrior, and that he was killed. Shortly after the death of Ihuga Patuavalu was anointed king. According to Smith (15, Vol. XII, p. 16), a warrior, Tagelagi, first proposed for the office refused the appointment, but offered to anoint and guard Patuavalu if the people chose him. This proposal was accepted, and Patuavalu was bathed by Tagelagi at Puato, Makefu. It appears that Patuavalu had come into some prominence before his appointment as king by the killing of Tuhega, the tyrant who had been in the

custom of stealing *tuhoi* (prepared wild yam) from women. There was great peace on the island during the reign of Patuavalu. According to a native account "all the trees of the island bore fruit, and there were swarms of birds in the bush, the pigeons coming out of the bush and rested on the housetops, and on the banana trees. The crabs (*uga*) also overran the land and entered into coconut husks in the *kaina* (homes). There was also a superabundance of fish in the sea. The island was blessed from the beginning of this king's reign until the time of his death at an old age."

This is the song composed by the *patuiki* Patuavalu on the day of his anointment:

He matagi tu fa nofonofa.  
Ti tonu ho lau kafika ē.  
Tau tui mo e tau alagavaka ne  
Tafilu hake ki Liualagi.  
Ke fua he to fa.  
He matagi tu fakahake motu,  
Ke fua he to fa.

The wind blows and changes.  
The leaves of the Kafika are blessed.<sup>8</sup>  
The chiefs and the *alagavaka*  
Turn back to Liualagi (Tuapa).  
Let all the trees bear fruit.  
The winds will sweep the island  
And all the trees will bear fruit.

Galiaga was anointed by Mohelagi at Paluki. This indicates that he came to the throne about 170 years ago. I quote from native account:

During the beginning of Galiaga's reign the island was blessed with peace. But later it so happened that a man by the name of Kakahemanava stole talo from the plantation of Tinomata. Tinomata did not know who had stolen talo from his plantation, but he planned to obtain revenge by killing the king Galiaga. Then he killed the king. Tinomata killed the king in order to bring misfortune to the island, so that there would be a famine on the island and the people would dwindle to skeletons and die from hunger. Then the man who had stolen from his plantation would also die. After the king had been murdered the island was cursed, but the people did not know who had stolen from the plantation. When the island found out that Kakahemanava was the thief, they exterminated every member of his family. They did this because of the murder of the king. After this everybody was afraid, and nobody wished for the office of *patuiki*, lest he be killed as was Galiaga.

This was the song of Galiaga upon the day of his anointment:

Fakanofa e iki kehe tafua,  
Iki fakatu he mafola,  
Moe fakalanu ki he maka faaki.  
Iki fakatu he mafola.  
Tagaloa tu loloku hifo he lagi,  
Hifo mai ke koukou he iki.  
Iki fakatu he mafola.  
Tapuaki mo e tau alagavaka ne  
Agāgai ki mua he iki.  
Iki fakatu he mafola.  
Tolo hifo e fine mo e tama ke mamata,  
A he iki ka koukou.

The king sits down upon a mound,  
The king establishes peace,  
And he anoints the stones.  
The king establishes peace.  
Tagaloa, bend down from the sky,  
Come down and bathe the king.  
The king establishes peace.  
The chiefs and the *alagavaka*  
Stand together in front of the king.  
The king establishes peace.  
Let all the women and children come  
and see,  
And see the king being anointed.

<sup>8</sup> The kafika leaves were sacred. They were laid down in chiefs' houses before the mats were laid.

Iki fakatu he mafola.  
 Ke mafola e motu mo faihau,  
 Mafola e motu mo faihau.

The king establishes peace.  
 Let there be peace and joy on the  
 island,  
 Let there be peace and joy on the  
 island.<sup>9</sup>

After the death of Galiaga, two candidates, Fakanaiki and Hetalaga, offered themselves for the office of king, but neither was chosen. Fokimata, a man from the eastern side of the island, was the choice of the people. Fokimata at first refused the office, for he remembered the recent death of his cousin, the Patuiki Galiaga. The people, nevertheless, insisted on Fokimata becoming a candidate for the office; they talked to him concerning his pride, and of the peace and blessings which would come to the island were the office suitably filled. Finally Fokimata was persuaded to assume the position, and he was bathed by Fakahemanava at Paluki.

Fokimata then lived at Fautuaua, Tuapa, as had king Punimata. Presently the wars arose between Mohelagi and Palalagi, and the king feeling himself in danger, for he was situated on the Motu side of the island, begged a Mutalau *toa*, Vihekula, and Palalagi, the famous *toa* of Makefu, to bring troops to his aid. The *toa* brought their troops, and soon afterwards war developed between Motu and Tafiti. After the Tafiti people were defeated at the battle of Mougakelekele, the troops of the Patuiki prepared to depart. They then chanted as follows:

Tau laga ki Mougakelekele, iki kua ole mai e. Hamao pule ke kau holia ke pouli aki e fenoga he iki. Iki e kua ole mai.

War caused at Mougakelekele, king who begged our aid. The troops disobeyed thy rule, and made dark the journey of the king. King who begged our aid.

Then Hafonua, who was a *toa* of the Patuiki, chanted a song to the foreign troops, bidding them go home, for their work was ended.

Ikinifo, *toa* to Palalagi, ko ti haele a koe ki ho fonua, ne kua pu e lagi, he tau *toa* e kua to mai.

Ikinifo, *toa* who art also called Palalagi, go back to thy land, for the thunder [war] is past, thy troops will follow.

Finally the Patuiki chanted:

Tau laga ki Mougakelekele, haku tao kua motumotu valu, motu valu kehe Kafka he iki. Toka leva kehe lalofakamalu; foufou ha iki hake mai. Toga. Tao toka mo alagavaka.

War caused at Mougakelekele. My spear was cut into eight pieces, the eighth piece which is the *kafka* of the king. Protect it for a long time in the sacred house; it will be a crown for the king coming from Tonga. Leave the spear at the home of the *alagavaka*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Tagaloa was the rainbow god of Niue.

<sup>10</sup> The meaning of this passage is symbolic and obscure. Reference is evidently made to the *tokamotu*, which was made from *kafka* wood. Does the passage indicate that Mutalau brought over the *tokamotu* in token of the subjection of the people of Niue to Tonga?



After the trouble was temporarily settled between the north and south ends of the island, the eastern side became jealous because the king was residing in the west. Fokimata knew that he was again in danger so he took refuge at Hikutavake. A *toa* of the eastern side now journeyed to the west, taking with him a black stone intended for killing the king. Manogi was the name of the *toa* who bore the stone, and he first offered it to Tukilagi, but Tukilagi refused. Kanavatoa, the eldest son of Palalagi, took the stone and departed for Hikutavake.

When the troops arrived to kill him, the king was cooking his food, having shortly before come back from bird shooting in the bush. As soon as Fokimata saw the troops coming, he knew at once what their purpose was, and he arose to run. But Kanavatoa hurled the black stone and struck the king in the head. Fokimata died at once.

This was the song of Fokimata:

Haku loto ke hake mai ha toga ke hu,  
Huiaki e iki ki ai.  
He tikai kau fia iki,  
Ikitua loto au ia.

I wish that a foreign ship would come,  
That I could give up my kingship.  
I like to be a king,  
But no one else likes me to be king.

Pakieto was set up by Palalagi and his son, in spite of the opposition of most of the people; he was never properly anointed. Soon after Pakieto took office a severe drought and famine fell upon the island. The people were soon put to the resort of eating the vao bush. Some say that the drought was occasioned through the killing of Fokimata; others, that it was occasioned by the illegitimate methods used in appointing Pakieto as king. No one inquired any longer, "Where is the king?"

Finally, the rumor spread that the king, deserted by his friends, was in the bush eating *veka* (the scavenger bird). Some men went out searching for him, but when they found him the rats had already eaten his face. The people, therefore, gave him a nickname, *Iki ne kai he kuma he mate pipili* (The king that was food for the rats when he was starving). This was the song that they sang at Lakepa, at his funeral dance:

He iki a Tamalagau fakatu, tu,  
Po taha kai, kai, he kuma,  
Kai, kai he kuma.

The king established by Lakepa,  
One night ate, ate, the rat,  
Ate, ate, the rat.

Pakieto ruled for less than a year. The brief interval of peace following his death was the first that had befallen the island since the beginning of the reign of Fokimata.

At the death of Pakieto no *patuiki* was set up. The chiefs of the island ruled separately, holding council at Fatuaua, where they made laws con-



cerning the way the people should cook their food, and the tribute of first fruits, the prerogative of the chiefs. They were:

- (1) Fotuga at Alofi. Died a natural death.
- (2) Foufou at Avatele. Killed in battle.
- (3) Mohelagi II at Liku. Killed in battle.
- (4) Hafonua at Hakupu. Died a natural death.
- (5) Fakaagatala at Mutalau. Died a natural death.
- (6) Taula at Tamahatokula (the former site of Hikutavake).
- (7) Manatoga and Nukufakamea at Lakepa. Both died natural deaths.
- (8) Tepunua and Taufakaualu at Tuapa. Tepunua was killed.

Another war was started because Taula was murdered when stealing fish, by a curse uttered by Puivao. The blood feuds of the Mohelagi and Palalagi families still kept Motu and Tafti hostile to each other. The chiefs went into conference for the purpose of establishing peace on the island, but the conference was barren of result. This system of chieftainships and constant warfare lasted for from ten to fifteen years after the death of Pakieto. The abolition of war and the setting up of a new line of kings was effected by the coming of Christianity to the island. When Turner visited Niue in 1845 there were no longer any kings on the island.

Reviewing the system of kingship in Niue, it appears that the idea was imported from Tonga at about the year 1700, and that the conception of the duties and powers of the king was made to conform to the Niue pattern; that is, the king was believed to have power over the weather and the growth of crops, a power which in former times had been relegated to the *taula-atua*. If a famine befell the island the king was killed for neglect of duty; but this feature of the Niuean "king-complex" was peculiar to the island. Chiefs were not killed for their lack of magical powers, for they were not supposed to have any. The killing of chiefs sometimes occurred, as in Hawaii and elsewhere, but it was always for actual misconduct while in office. The "killing of the king" trait, therefore, developed in Niue in the 18th century due to the mingling of Tongan and Niuean cultures.

In certain parts of Africa kings were killed either at specified times, or when they began to show the first signs of physical weakness (4, p. 26.) These kings had a magical control over the weather in a manner somewhat similar to the kings of Niue. It is beyond the bounds of possibility, however, that this "king-killing" could have been diffused to Niue. There are no other examples of this practice in either Melanesia or Polynesia. I asked my informant Uēa why they killed the kings of Niue in the olden days. Uea thought the matter over for a moment, and then he asked me, "Why do the people of your country kill your *patuiki* when things are bad?"

Smith says:

The attitude of the lower orders towards the king and chiefs was always one of deference, for which they have a word (*maimaina*) and this is so at this day. No one of the common people (*lalo tagata*) approaches a chief, or passes before him without stooping in a humble attitude (*tukutuku-hifo*) and like the Samoans, they sit down crosslegged (*fakatoga*, which really means Tonga fashion) to proffer any request,—or else knelt down with one knee on the ground. The common people were also in the custom of crawling up to a chief or king when they entered his *kaina*. But Niueans never crossed in front of another person, or stepped over another person, regardless of sex or rank.

Smith (15, Vol. XI, p. 177) has collected nine "chief's words" from Niue. He believes that the paucity of these words shows that the institution of king is comparatively modern. I agree with Smith concerning the recency of the kingship, but I fail to see how the paucity of the chief's words has anything to do with proving this point. He has overlooked the fact that chief's words were primarily used when speaking to, or about chiefs; and that the extension of their use to the kings was merely a secondary matter. I was informed at Niue that the so-called "chief's words" were also used in speaking to very intimate friends. I have texts that prove that a wife would address her husband using *haele*, instead of the ordinary *hau*, thus showing her respect. *Haele*, the ordinary Polynesian word for "come," is used exclusively in the Niuean Bible. Only in comparatively recent times was the word *hau* introduced. The use of *haele* thus corresponds to the archaic forms, "thee" and "thou," in addressing royalty or divinities. In like manner the word *fofoga* is classified as a "chief's word," being used instead of the ordinary word for the face, *mata*. According to the old texts the word *fofoga* was at one time the common word for face. It is possible that all of the chief's words in Niue are merely preserved from the archaic language.

#### CLASSES OF PEOPLE

The *iki* had a number of officers to assist him in governing. Unfortunately, all my informants were somewhat hazy as to the names and function of these officials. According to Uea the next in rank to the *iki* was the *hagai iki*. Then came the *pule*, or ruler; the *alagavaka*, scout; the *nukufagamea*, a similar title; the *matatuakau*, who went in front of the troops and acted as captain; the *pakaleveleve*, of the same position; the *laumamanu*, who held the *fue*, or emblem; the *kanehala*, who followed after the emblem bearer on the march; the *tomoui*, who followed after the *kanehala* on the march; finally, came the *mateniu*, which is said to mean merely the eldest son.

It will be seen that most of these officers were merely warriors who were given official position when serving in the army. The *alagavaka* served

also as anointers of the people in times of feasts, when they called down the gods to bless the occasion. They were not priests but secular ministers of the chiefs.

When the system of kingship came into being, the *patuiki* was assisted by functionaries of like titles. Smith states that at any rate there was an officer called the *alaga-vaka-ne-mua*, or chief *alagavaka*, who was a kind of prime minister, and a *hagai*, whose functions were unknown.

At the present day the entire native governmental functions of the island have disappeared. There are no longer kings, chiefs, or ministers. The ceremonials of obeisance also have disappeared. The Commissioner is assisted by a native council, or *fono*, selected from different villages.

The people of Niue were divided roughly into three classes. The *toa*, or warriors, the *fekafekau*, or servants of the *toa*; and the *lalo tagata*, or low people. In the following description of the class system, the informant disregards the existence of the *fekafekau*, and attempts to differentiate between those of the low people who came to that position from lack of character, and those who fell into it as the result of misfortunes of war.

(a) The first strong generations were the ones that jumped into the forts and killed the people inside. These were the *toa*.

(b) These were the generations that fainted (*matefau*). They were the ones that lived in any way (*fakahanoa*). They did not attack the forts, but they stayed at home and ate fruit and hairy insects.

(c) These generations were wanderers. They roamed on the island and were scattered about among their relatives. They were not brought up properly. When Christianity came, some of these people were appointed to be the servants (*fekafekau*) of Jesus Christ in the villages of the island.

There were numbers of bad, weak, small, and thin people, but they were highly thought of because they were born from the big [*lalahi*, large in size] people and from the *toa* in the olden times, so there was no complaint about it. But those people who were born without knowing their fathers, and who lived only with their mothers, were no good, but were low people (*tagata fakateaga*).

It is rather difficult to describe the social system of Niue of the former days, for there were no hard and fast cast distinctions. A man might readily become a *toa*, provided he had sufficient strength and ability. This is brought out by the following story.

Lefutogia was a Tafti man. His sister went to marry a man of Tumuakifonua, whose name was Lupekovi. The brother followed and went to live at the new home of his sister [as a *fekafekau*]. The new dwelling place of the brother was not good, and he became angry at the way in which his brother-in-law treated his servants. So he turned back to Tafti and remained there to live.

Presently Lefutogia thought that he would revenge himself for the bad treatment that he had received from his brother-in-law. So he commenced at once learning how to fight. He first made a wooden tub [*kumete*]. When this was finished he took it down to a point by the sea named Tanu, and it was there that he learned how to fight. He went down, and taking up the tub, he filled it with



water from the sea. He then went up to the cliffs, and performed the war dance (*takalo*) in order to harden his body. Finally he ran down to where his tub full of water lay, and he tried to lift this in the air. He was not able to, and so he threw the water out of the tub, and taking it up, he left it at the cliffs and went to his own *kaina*, where he stayed.

When the next day arrived he went down to the sea again and repeated his training. Thus for many days he went down and performed his exercises as on the first day. He did this until the day arrived that he was able to fight.

Lefutogia was a young boy when he started to plan revenge (*fakafualoto*), but by this time his body had greatly increased in muscle, and the hair on his face was full grown. Then he went down one day, as on the many days that had passed, and filled the tub full of water. Now, for the first time he was able to raise it. He lifted it high in the air and put it on his shoulders. He then poured the water out from the tub and put it back in its regular place. After this he ran up to the cliffs and danced and chewed his beard. His body was indeed very strong.

Now he returned to the *kaina* where he lived, for he was able to do the thing that he had planned. He chose the day on which to fight and he then went to his sister in order to have her prepared. "When I arrive in the night," he said, "you will hear a sound as of the rain falling, so be prepared." After Lefutogia had bade farewell to his sister he turned back to Tafti and prepared the war clubs. When these were prepared the troops went up in order to surprise the house by a night attack. There were only two men in the house, and when they perceived that they were attacked they rushed outside and fell at the hands of the invaders. This was in repayment for their wicked deeds. After this Lefutogia took his sister back to Tafti, and lived with her there.

Three classes of servants were recognized. The highest class was the *hakahakau*, who held an honorary position. Thus when Mutalau invaded the island from Tonga he overcame the chief Tihamau. Mutalau then assumed the position of first *patuiki*, but kept Tihamau in his service. Tihamau had been a great roadmaker in the past, so Mutalau said to him, "I will rule, but you will serve (*hakahakau*). You will work on the roads."<sup>11</sup>

The ordinary servants in the past, as at the present, were called *fekafekau*, a term which implies no disgrace. If a man had insufficient land of his own he would ally himself with a powerful *toa*, and exchange his manual labor for protection and a temporary land grant. He never attained the rights, however, of an adopted person (*tamahiki*). In the *fekafekau* system lay the germs of a feudal arrangement.

The third class of servants, called *tupa*, or crabs, were very much despised, as they served without rights or compensation. They were not slaves, as they had the privilege of leaving their master when they pleased. Unfortunately I could gather no further information concerning the *tupa*. It is my belief that slavery never existed in Niue.

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<sup>11</sup> Working on the roads, or paths, was not considered a punishment until after the coming of the white man.



## SUMMARY

The people of Niue lived under very primitive conditions. That is to say, their political and social organization was far less highly differentiated than the social and political organization of other Polynesian people, for not only was a well developed system of government lacking on the island, but even the people themselves were not grouped according to their crafts and occupations. This low level of social attainment cannot be attributed to lack of mentality of the natives, for they are intellectually the equals of other Polynesian people. It therefore must be attributed to some historical accident.

The people of Niue were not in the possession of any actual priestly class. If it be true that the supposed divinity of the ruling classes, the tapu placed upon women, and the sort of caste system imposed upon the common people were all improvised at a relatively late date in other parts of Polynesia by the priesthood in order to keep the commoners in subjection, then the inference is clear that the lack of these same systems in Niue may be attributed to the absence of the power of the priesthood. The lack of lengthy genealogies and a well developed stock of mythologies may be attributed to the same cause.

It may be argued that the people of Niue were low caste natives of other islands, presumably Tonga or Samoa, who fled to Niue without the guidance of either priests or leaders. I think this unlikely, for it lacks historical precedent. It is far more likely that Niue was settled at an early date, and being in a somewhat isolated condition, it maintained its republican institutions long after its neighbors had become converted to theocratical rule. If this be true, then the study of the social structure of Niue should be of great interest, for it gives us a picture of an archaic manner of living common at one time to all other Polynesian peoples.

## THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

Niuean society is divided into families rather than tribes. As remarked by Smith, "The Maori words Ngati-, Ngai- and Ati- as prefixes to tribal names, meaning the 'descendants of,' are not known to the Niue people" (15, Vol. XI, p. 168). It is said that every village was first settled by a family. Some village sites and the resident population still bear the same name, as; Tamahamua, Tamakautoga, Tamahatokula. *Tama* means the children of, or descendants of, and includes also the people who married or were adopted into the family. There is at present no village on the island which is composed solely of the real or fictitious descendants of one family; the village of Liku, which approaches the nearest to this condition, has only about one-fourth of its population claiming descent from the Mohelagi family.

It is interesting to note that there are two terms used to indicate the word family, *magafaoa*, people of a village, and *fagai*, people who eat together. A third, and obsolete term, *ohi*, corresponds to the Maori *ai*, meaning descendant. The word *ohi* therefore is identical in meaning *tama*, but does not enter into any of the names of the divisions of the people.

The actual Niuean family of the present day is composed of a group of people bearing real or adopted relationship to each other, connections being reckoned regardless of habitat. There is no question, however, that in the past the habitat played a larger share in the binding together of the family indicated not only by the native terms for family, but by the treatment accorded the *nomaea* (p. 75) (stranger) who takes up his residence with his wife's family, also by the treatment given to the *fekafekau*. The centralizing effect of temporary habitat was never carried to the extreme of compelling a temporary visitor to fight against his relatives.

## KINSHIP TERMS

Niuean kinship terms have been discussed by Smith (15), by Rivers (13), and by Gifford (5), without arriving at satisfactory conclusions. I have continued the investigation under fortunate circumstances.

A man in Niue is called *tane*, the general Polynesian term. (The general Oceanic root word for man is *ta*.) A woman is called *fifine*, a term which likewise occurs throughout Polynesia with the customary phonetic changes. *Tane* is also the common word for husband, and *hoana* is commonly used

for wife. The word *hoa* is used also for a helper or follower. All relatives, either direct or by marriage, of the first elder generation may be referred to as *matua*. Distinctions in speaking of a person are usually made, however, to indicate whether the person is an actual parent, whether man or woman, or whether directly related or related by marriage. If the person spoken of is an actual parent *matua fanau* (parent by birth) is used. A man is called *matua tane*. Disregarding the relatives of the man's wife, this term covers the father, the father's brother, the father's sister's husband, the mother's brother, the mother's sister's husband. If the person spoken of is a woman, *matua fīfine* is used, which again disregarding the relatives of the wife, covers the mother, the father's sister, the father's brother's wife, the mother's sister, the mother's brother's wife. A man will speak of the parents of his wife, and of their brothers and sisters, as *matua fugavai*. A woman will speak in the same manner concerning the parents of her husband, and of their brothers and sisters. In each case sex may be designated by *tane* and *fīfine*.

Persons of the second elder generation, and of all succeeding elder generations are referred to as *tupuna*. Rivers believes, from a comparison of Melanesian and Polynesian vocabularies, that the Oceanic root of this word is *pu*. The word *tupuna* at any rate is widespread throughout Polynesia. While there is doubtless an intimate connection between the words *tupuna* and *tupua*, speaking of Polynesia as a whole, it does not necessarily follow that all of the gods of Niue are ancestral (pp. 158, 159). The four grandparents of the man, and their brothers and sisters, and the four grandparents of the wife, and their brothers and sisters, are all referred to as *tupuna*. A distinction is usually made between male and female *tupuna*.

Persons of the younger generation are referred to as *tama*, the only distinction made being that of sex, thus, *tama tane* and *tame fīfine*. Sometimes, however, children by birth are spoken of as *tama fanau*. The word *tama tane*, therefore, includes the son, brother's male child, sister's male child, wife's brother's male child, wife's sister's male child, son's male child, daughter's male child, father's brother's child's male child, wife's sister's male child. If the child be a girl, the term *tama fīfine* is used. A grand-child may be referred to by the Maori terms of *pulupulu-ola* or *moko-puna*, but these terms are only applied to infants and are not used in a classificatory sense.

In referring to persons of the same generation as the speaker, many more distinctions are made. In the brother-sister relation a man refers to his elder brother as *matakainaga*, or *taokete*, and to his young brother as *tehina*. He refers to a sister as *mahakitaga*, the younger sister being sometimes dif-



ferentiated by the term *mahakitaga fakamui*, *fakamui*, meaning last. A woman refers to her elder sister as *taokete*, and to her younger sister as *tehina*. She refers to her brothers as *tugane*, and she may differentiate her younger brother as *tugane fakamui*.

This differentiation between the brother-sister terms in Niue is of great sociological interest. Rivers writes (13, p. 176): "In Polynesia, with the exception of Niue, the terms do not differ greatly from those used between persons of the same sex, the *kaikunane* and *kaikuhine* of the Hawaiian islands being evidently variants of the words used between brothers, and the same is probably true of Samoa and Tonga." The sister's brother has a function in Niue which is peculiarly limited to that island (p. 65), thus pointing out in specific manner the general truth of the principle that a divergence in nomenclature indicates a divergence in function. Smith raises a question concerning the reason why a man refers to his sister as *mahakitaga*. The use of this term, in reference to a sister, also is limited to Niue. The meaning of this word gives some clue to its usage. *Mahaki* in Niue means very great, excessive, and *taga* is the present participle of a verb. The term for father's sister in Tonga is *mehikitaga*, and in Tikopia *mesakitaga*. (See p. 65 for comparison of functions.)

First cousins are classified as brothers and sisters, and marriage between first cousins is regarded as incest, regardless of whether the cousins are cross-cousins or parallel-cousins. Thus the word *matakainaga* is used by a man in speaking about the male child of either his father's brother or his father's sister. In like manner the word *mahakitaga* is used by a man in speaking about the female child of either his father's brother or his father's sister. Children of the mother's brother and mother's sister are likewise regarded as brothers and sisters. Second cousins are put into a different age class. Thus the father's brother's child's male child is spoken of as *tama tane*.

Relations by marriage are classified according to age groups. Thus the wife's father and mother are spoken of as *matua fugavai*, but the brother and sister of the wife are spoken of as *maa*. The wife's brother's wife, or the wife's sister's husband is also spoken of as *maa*. This name is the one used in Tonga, as in Niue, to designate the brother or sister of the husband. Two people standing in the *maa* relation to each other may marry. Relations by marriage of the younger generation are spoken of as *figona*. Thus the daughter's husband or the son's wife are spoken of as *figona tane* or *figona fifine*, respectively.

The term *gomaea* is applied to either the parents of the son's wife or to the parents of the daughter's husband. The word has gone out of use, but



it was of great importance at the period when the main feature of the wedding consisted in the exchange of feasts between the two sets of *gomaea*. It is to be understood that the word "parents" is used here in the classificatory sense, and includes all of the related elder generation.

Adopted children may be, but are not necessarily spoken of as *tama-hiki*. The word *hiki* is the common Polynesian word for the act of nursing. Adopted children have all of the rights of actual offspring. It is customary at the present day to seek to adopt a relative, especially a nephew or niece. This is for the purpose of keeping the property in the immediate family.

Relationship terms are never used in addressing a person, but the person's name is used, placed in the vocative voice as a mark of courtesy. Another way of addressing a member of the family is by the use of honorary terms, or of terms of affection. Thus a chief's word used by a man in addressing his wife was *lotofakavihi* (causer of love). Other ways in which a wife may be addressed are: *alito he fale* (the core of the house); *mata lupe* (the eyes of a pigeon); *kula* (red); *tokoua* (two); and *tama he tehina*, or the child of the younger brother of the father or the younger sister of the mother. I do not know why this last term should be used, indicating as it does the marriage of parallel cousins.

Other terms of affection could be bestowed upon either wives or children, as: *moka* (fair), a term used for girls and frequently a part of their names, *hega* (a parrakeet), *kanamanava* (sweetheart), *lotofakamoli* (true hearted), *mea* (dear), *tote* (little one), *kefu* (dear), and *humelie* (sweet). Children may be addressed as *alito he fonua* (kernels of the land).

A wife, if she wishes to honor her husband, will call him a chief, using either one of three obsolete expressions: *lefua*, *leitu*, or *tui*. She may simply address him as *malolo* (strong, brave). If, however, she wishes to speak to him in a derogatory manner she will call him *lololole* (weak or cowardly). Frequently the husband is merely a stranger who has married into the family and has taken up his residence with his wife. The wife may, in her anger, remind him of this fact by calling him a *maea*. The insult will be very much greater if she calls him *maeafua*, for this means that he is a *maea* who does not even bring home food to his family. If, however, he is a good provider she may address him as *maeapiu*, thus indicating that he does supply the family, for it was formerly the custom to wrap the food up in the *piu* leaves.

There was a certain formal way in which a husband and wife always addressed one another when the husband returned after a long trip. Here the chief's word *haele* is used, instead of the modern word *hau*. The wife said to her husband upon his return, "*Kua haele mae, haku iki.*" (You

have come back, my chief.) The husband then replied, "*Kua haele tanoa mae au.*" (Yes, I have come back.)

Thus the main feature of the Niuean system of nomenclature of relatives lies in classifying by age groups, the elder and the younger generations being distinguished from the present generation. The people of Niue never kept a record of their ages in years, yet certain metaphorical expressions were used to roughly describe the time of life of the group members. Thus a baby in the womb was called *gaenui* and an infant was called *muke*. Twins are called *mahaga tugi* when girls, *la-tugi* being the first born of the two. A widow is called *takape*. The ordinary word for an old man or woman is *fuakau*, and the ordinary expression for a young man is *fuata*.

Actual descriptive terms for relations were never needed nor used in former times in Niue. An exception to this rule is the term *uluaki* for the first born male, *ulu* meaning head. The people have developed a system, however, of describing their relatives in order to conform to the needs of the modern land law court. If, for example, the word *matakainaga* prove too indefinite in the eyes of the law, for the description of the father's older brother's son, the native may translate the English description literally, "*koe tama he taokete he matua tane haku*" (the child of the older brother of my father).

#### KINSHIP FUNCTIONS

It appears that the parents (*matua*) of the man, and the parents of the girl, were the parties who were chiefly instrumental in arranging marriages, the word parents being used here in the classificatory sense. There is little doubt that agreement concerning the advisability of a match was arrived at by a family conclave held separately by the girl's parents and the boy's parents. No one of the elder generation had any more customary rights in this matter than the remainder of the elder generation, a girl's aunt and mother having an equal say in the matter. An aunt or the actual mother of the girl advised concerning the disposition of the wedding gift, the *talo* pudding. It is to be presumed that this advice was given only after a family agreement had been arrived at. It is to be noted that there is no linguistic distinction between the names for the brothers and sisters of the mother, and the brothers and sisters of the father. These sets of relatives will supply the same function; for if the mother is residing with her husband's family, she will join in the family meeting of her brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law; if, however, the father is residing with his wife's people, the mother will seek advice from her own brothers and sisters.

It is altogether probable that a girl's elder brother would arrange a

marriage for her if he happened to be the most powerful member of the family, for in any arrangement of this nature the family head would have a deciding voice.

In Niue the brother of a woman, and not the husband, is the defender in a blood feud. Likewise, if a man is suddenly called away to war, and he leaves a portion of his food uneaten, his wife is forbidden to eat the food, but his sister may. These two customs, while not existing at the present time, were once universally recognized. They are survivals, apparently pointing back to a time when the people were divided into clans, the husband and wife belonging to different clans and the brother and sister belonging to the same clan.

Thomson believes (18, 136) that the people of Niue were in a transitory state between patriarchy and matriarchy. Their kinship customs would appear to support this view. Yet it should be borne in mind that customs which at first sight appear to be the survivals of a different social organization may have been borrowed from other places. In this connection it is important to note that the term for father's sister in Tonga is *mehikitaga* and in Tikopia it is *mesakitaga*, while in Niue the term for a man's sister is *mahakitaga*. In both Tonga and Tikopia the father's sister occupies a position of great importance, a man honoring his father's sister more than any other relative. His marriage was usually arranged by her. In Niue the name is identical and the functions similar. Not only does the name *mahakitaga* signify "very great" but the brother does owe protection to his sister. While the sister does not arrange the marriage of her brother, she is often the person chosen to arrange matters by carrying the *hei*, or floral decoration, to the intended bride. Under a matrilineal clan organization the father's sister would belong to a different clan from the nephew; therefore, if the brother-sister relation of Niue is borrowed from the Tongan social organization, no indication is furnished that the people of Niue ever practiced the matriarchy.

Thomson states (op. cit.): "A grown son inherits his father's house and land, but the daughters seem to have claims upon their mother's brother, and though these claims are universally recognized, there is nothing approaching the extraordinary rights of the Fijian *vasu*." On the other hand, Rivers (14, p. 15) writes, "In Polynesia, both the Hawaiians and the inhabitants of Niue class the mother's brother with the father, and in neither place was I able to discover that there were any special duties, privileges, or restrictions ascribed to the mother's brother." My own results are fully in accord with the investigations of Rivers.

The terms for the younger brother of a man, or the younger sister



of a woman is the usual Polynesian word *tehina*. A man may refer to his elder brother, or a woman to her elder sister by the Tongan term *taokete*. When the elder generation have lost their power, the elder brother in a family usually assumes the position of authority. The land is held in common by the family, but the elder brother has the right to take any of the products for his own use. This right of seizure also extends to the personal belongings of a man's younger brothers and sisters, or to a woman's younger sisters. The authority of the elder brother has fallen somewhat into disuse at the present day. I once asked Hipa for the family records kept by his younger brother, but Hipa was unable to obtain them for me. Another man still preserved the ancient custom of going to the plantation of his younger brothers and placing a tapu on their coconut trees, thus preserving their fruit for his own use. I was told that this method of procedure made the elder brother very unpopular in his family. It may be added that the elder brother only succeeds to authority, or inherits the family mana, if he prove a capable man.

A word sometimes used for elder brother is *matakainaga*, also used to describe a male cousin. Female cousins are called *mahakitaga*. In other words, first cousins are regarded as brothers and sisters. In the past they had the same authority as brothers and sisters and today a marriage with a first cousin is regarded as being equally incestuous as a marriage with a brother or sister (p. 81).

The social system of Niue has to a certain extent come under Melanesian influence. It must be presumed that the brother-sister relationship of Niue is connected with the Tongan power of the father's sister. This same status of the father's sister is also to be found in Tikopia, a Polynesian island bordering on Melanesia, and within Melanesia itself, in Banks Islands, and in New Hebrides. On the other hand, certain Melanesian influences which have affected Tongan society, for example, tapus between brothers and sisters, and the power of the mother's brother, are unknown to Niue.

#### GENEALOGIES AND LAND OWNERSHIP

There are two types of pedigree in the Pacific. The Melanesian type goes back only three or four generations, but in all collateral lines. The Polynesian type traces descent directly back to some very remote ancestor or god. Fiji combines these two types, while Niue, and I believe Tikopia, has the Melanesian type of pedigree. The Polynesian type is only of use among peoples who reckon their nobility by descent, while one use of the Melanesian type is the adjustment of land claims. The heads of families only keep track of genealogies in Niue, for they are called upon to make



claims to property. These records run back five, or at the most seven, generations.

Land in Niue is owned by the family in common, the head of the family having the controlling voice. It appears that in former days trees were more sought after than the actual land, for the planting of coconut or fruit trees on a piece of property gave the planter the right to the land (18, p. 139). In seeming contradiction, trees in Niue could be owned separately from the land. My wife and I were given two mango trees on the *kaina* which we were renting, and we still possess the trees. This giving away of trees to visitors is a very old Niue custom, but it did not carry with it the rights to the land on which the trees were planted. It is probable, however, that the natives distinguish between the honorary bestowal of trees, and trees actually planted and owned by strangers. There are no boundary marks on the native plantations, and hence the only way in which the natives can gauge the extent of their cultivation is by their bounding trees. In taro and yam cultivations the land is marked by the bush clearing. No person can lay claim to land by the planting of these vegetables on another man's property.

Fishing grounds were also considered family property, especially where a pool had been stocked with fish. Trespass on fishing reserves was considered as much of a theft as trespass on the bush plantation.

Houses, weapons, and utensils were personal property and were bestowed by verbal will before the death of the owner. I was told that a man prefers giving his property to his actual children rather than to his nephews and nieces, and that he would usually give the larger share to his eldest son and the second greatest share to his younger son, because the younger was the more helpless. Songs, charms, and family traditions were considered a part of the family property, and were handed down from generation to generation. Names were handed down within families, outsiders having no rights to their use.

To a certain degree individual ownership of land existed according to Thomson, because a title could be acquired by cultivation, and the sons inherit their father's land; but no landowner could demise his holding to anyone outside the limits of his family, and, in default of heirs, the land reverted to the head of the family for assignment to other members of it.

At present a woman may be the head of a family, so far as the actual ownership of land is concerned. The present owner of the *kaina* Anakule (Omahi, the original name) is a woman by the name of Tokai. The manner in which she acquired the property is as follows:

Uea tried to convince me that he was the actual owner of this piece of land, giving as reasons for this, these facts: Fotuga was the original owner during the reign of Patuiki Fokimata. The daughter of Fotuga married a man by the name of Ikihetoa. Ikihetoa came to live at Omahi as a *nomaea*. The brother of Ikihetoa, named Talepule, also came to live with his brother at Omahi. Talepule then brought in a wife, by the name of Ligihekula, and this couple bore children. Talepule had a daughter by the name of Fineikihaele, and this girl married Tifaulu, a grandson of the famous *toa* Palalagi. Tifaulu had no legal rights to the land of Omahi, as he was a *nomaea*. Fotuga, however, allowed him to remain on the land, and to bequeath it to his eldest son Motuvale, who in turn bequeathed it to his niece Tokai, his own son, two daughters, and one nephew being deceased.

At the present time this piece of property is inhabited as follows: Tokai married but bore no children. She adopted a girl by the name of Mata, a second cousin of hers. Mata married an outsider by the name of Manuela, and this pair are living on the *kaina* at the present time. Tokai also adopted another girl, a second cousin of hers, and a first cousin of Mata. This girl's name was Fakatagi. Fakatagi married a man by the name of Veli, a descendant of Palalagi of the fifth generation. Veli and his wife are at present living on the *kaina*. Leotuki, a younger brother of Veli, and the wife of Leotuki have also moved to the *kaina*. These three pairs of people all have real and adopted children living with them. It might be finally added that Leotuki has a special right to his residence, for he married the granddaughter of Motuvale.

Coming back to the hitch in the inheritance, the claim is made that Tifaulu had no rights to the land since he was not adopted into the Fotuga family. Uea claims that the land should have been handed down to the descendants of Fotuga. If this had been done, the land would have come down as follows: from Fotuga to his eldest son, Atuhele; from Atuhele to his eldest son, Puakava; from Puakava to his fourth daughter, Kafahele I; from Kafahele I, to her eldest daughter, Kafahele II; and from Kafahele II to her eldest son Uea. I think that the claim of Uea is weakened by the fact that Kafahele I is only the fourth daughter in the family, and hence her share of the family allotment might have been a very small one.

A claim such as this one would not stand any chance in the modern law court, where occupancy and not ancient history is the basis of evidence. In former times, however, the claim might have been made the basis for a war between the two families.

## PERSONAL NAMES

The people of Niue use many names. It is difficult to learn all of the names of any one person, because the names are usually in the nature of nicknames, many of which are distasteful to the individual. I have frequently heard one person teasing another by merely running through the list of his nicknames. Then again when I have questioned a man concerning an ancient warrior of a family hostile to his own, I would be told that I was using the wrong name, that the man's name was not "brave *toa*," but "coward who ran away." After any incident in a person's life there was sure to be a change of name. Thus one warrior acquired the name of Tauliuaki (throwing back and forth) because he threw a spear back at the enemy every time that the spear was thrown at him. After a death in the family there was certain to be a general change in names, the new names perhaps having reference often to some cause of the death. At marriage, however, neither the man nor the woman adopted a new name.

The fact that some names apply equally well to male and female suggests that names of children must have been decided upon before birth, although not applied until the child was first bathed. The name of the child was chosen by the family in consultation either before or after birth.

In spite of the great frequency of name changes, there were names first assumed by a distinguished member which were upon death handed down in families, and regarded as the private property of these families. These names were handed down on the male line from the father to his eldest son, and on the female line from the mother to her eldest daughter. A nephew or niece might take the family name, or the name of any other member of the family who proved worthy. With the male family name went the family control and the family mana. For example, the grandfather of Palalagi was named Ikinifo. Ikinifo was the family name then of Palalagi, but when he "made a name for himself," Palalagi and not Ikinifo was henceforth handed down in the family.

Many names were descriptive, without reference to the present owner. I learned that one name, Poumale, at one time meant "liar," and that another name meant "loose woman." The meaning of these names had been forgotten, however, when the names were given. The names Maka (stone), Tiale (a flower) and various compounds of the word mana were common; even the name Puaka (pig) was not considered a disgrace. Upon the conversion of the island to Christianity many of the people assumed Biblical names, but these are no longer in vogue. At present little attention is given names, children often being called after foreign countries,



as Tasmania, or any other name that hits the fancy of the parent. Family names are also being stolen from the rightful owners.

It is not customary to name canoes or animals in Niue, and personal names do not convey the personality of the owner. There are, therefore, no tapus on the use of names.

### CEREMONIES OF CHILDHOOD

The following is a native account:

When the child struggled to be born the older relatives of the woman and the man gathered to deliver the woman. Some women gave birth unaided, but others needed aid to strain down the child. They called out to the woman to let the baby come, if this were difficult, they gathered together and would not separate until the child came. Then some went and brought kape leaves (the leaves of the giant talo) and put them on their heads, and they made holes in the talo leaves on top of their heads. Then they prayed thusly,

To vave fua, to vave fua,  
Ti to ai e tama, ai uka.

Bear fruit quickly, bear fruit quickly,  
Let the child come down; it is not  
difficult.

When a male child was born they cut off its navel, but if they desired the child to be strong and a great *toa* they bit the navel off. If the child were a girl they simply cut the navel off and said these words, "When you grow large be strong, and always be willing to work!" Then the navel (*pito*) was buried in the ground, so as to assure ownership of the land to the child.

Before the child was born, the mother was fed on ti roots, because mankind was supposed to have been born from the ti tree (p. 164). This feeding of the mother was supposed to make the child hard. Some time after the child was born it was fed on coconut and arrowroot.

After the child was born, all the people outside of the family wished to know, of course, whether the child was a boy or a girl. So they asked the parents, "What is the name of your child?" If it were a boy, the parents replied "*e fua mai he malo tau*" (fruit of the war-girdle); if a girl, they said "*e fua mai he la-lava*," referring to cutting *hiapo* and weaving *tegitegi*. Neither the parents of the man nor the parents of the woman could go without presents to see the mother (*olopou*). At this time the relatives of the husband cooked a large *takihi* (dish composed of coconut juice and taro) to be eaten by the relatives of the wife, while the relatives of the wife cooked a large *takihi* to be eaten by the relatives of the husband.

According to native account:

After five nights had passed, they brought the fruit of the *tuitui* (candle nut) to light up the place; then they bathed the child and gave it a name. They called this name "that given at the bathing by the *tuitui*."

When the eighth day arrives, if the child is a boy, the parent goes down to the sea to bring it a fast animal as a gift. He then brings up the *kamakama* crab. The leg of this crab is broken off and rubbed on the leg of the boy. This is done so



that the boy may run well on the battle field, and be quick in chasing people in war, that he may be quick in running for his life, so that the troops will not catch and kill him. Then the crab is allowed to escape.

After this the father goes in search of a flying bird in the bush, this flying bird is the *heahea*. After the father has caught the *heahea*, he takes it and rubs it on the mouth of the boy. This is done so that when the boy grows up, he shall speak well, and be wise in prayer, and shall avoid spears and stones in battle, also that he shall be able to bear hardships, and be kind, and live long as the stones or the sun, for when the sun sets it rises again. Then they allow the *heahea* to fly away. Finally, the father brings a sugar cane, and lets the boy chew it. This is done that he shall be strong and brave in all undertakings.

I am not sure just what ceremonies were performed for a female child, as my texts all differ. It is not likely, however, that the same animals were brought to a girl. Smith has an account of the prayers uttered over a girl baby. She was counselled to be clever in the domestic arts, but no mention was made in the prayers concerning her strength or courage.

The *huki teliga* feast, the feast for the piercing of the ears, was given for both boys and girls when they were seven, eight, or nine years of age. The parents prepared the food, and the relatives brought gifts. For earrings the blossom of the *tiale* (*Gardenia*) was stuck in the perforation made in the ear, or two teeth of the *monega* fish were inserted and tied together with human hair and suspended from the ear, a custom which may have been introduced. Falani writes:

There was a house for keeping earrings (*tifa*) at Fetuna. The people did not know who built the house, whether it was the people from Toga [foreign lands] or the people of Manatoga at Lagavaka in Tamalagau [Lakepa.] The house was very tapu, and it was not to be used for any other purpose in the olden days.

Nowadays the *tiale* flower is stuck behind the ear, as is common throughout Polynesia. I have seen many Niuean men wearing European earrings.

A ceremony of circumcision which made a pretense of being the actual operation was undergone by children in olden days. This was called *matapulega* or *pelitome*. It was performed for the purpose of cleanliness (*fakamea*) on boys after they had become *lalahi* (large, probably referring to puberty). The instrument for circumcision was commonly a stick of moea wood to which was attached by a sinnet binding a sharpened fragment of the *Tridacna* shell. Sometimes the claw of the *kalavi* (long legged crab) attached to a piece of wood was used for this purpose.

For the ceremony, the child was laid on the ground under a screen made of *hiapo*. Then the *matua tane* (father or uncle) approached, and seizing the end of the child's penis, pretended to cut around it with the instrument. During this operation the *matua tane* uttered a certain formula in which he stated that he was actually performing the cutting. He also

gave certain injunctions to the child urging him to utilize his manly powers in the production of many children.

This ceremony was of considerable economic significance. A temporary new house, *fale matapulega* (p. 90) was prepared. After the ceremony the parents gave a great feast, while in return the relatives brought *hiapo* and the fine *tegitegi* mats. Before the offering of the present, each visiting *toa* took the boy on his lap and offered him words of advice.

Girls were given a much smaller feast when they reached maturity. No pretense of ceremonial was gone through with. They lay face down on the ground and were covered with the mats and the *hiapo*.

Due to the importance attached to the acquisition of wealth by the children as they arrive at the age of marriage, the *matapulega* ceremony is still celebrated, although in a somewhat altered form. The temporary coconut leaf house is still erected, and the feeding of the relatives and the receiving of modern day presents takes place. But the manner of circumcision has changed. The boy is now circumcised in one of two ways. He may have his penis gashed lengthwise with a razor, in imitation of the Samoan fashion, thus inflicting a painful or even dangerous wound. In the method more commonly practiced, the boy has his hair shaven off in his early childhood, except for a single strand which is allowed to grow to its full length. At the *matapulega*, this single strand of hair is clipped off with scissors. This ceremony is of interest as a survival custom.

### COURTSHIP

In the olden days, if a man desired to marry a woman, he did not court her, but had the marriage arranged by the two families. The word meaning to court, *lamati*, is of refined usage in Niue, and some well brought up young girls do not even know its meaning. The word has much the same connotation as the English expression "to make love" has when translated into French idiom and manner of thought.

In the olden days it was not unusual for a man to court two sisters at the same time. A story tells how two brothers went to court the same girl. The girl refused the two suitors, whereupon they returned home and the elder brother sang this plaintive song,

Ma fai tehina nae, ma tehina nae, hau  
tugi ke ta o.

Na koe fifine he mata tau nae.

Ne o a taua ke lamati ki ai;

Fakalata he vale fakamakamaka, hau  
tugi ke ta o.

My dear brother, my dear brother, we  
went and have come back.

She was a woman with hostile eyes,  
We went to court her;

She angrily threw us out of the house,  
we went and have come back.

Toteni writes :

The tiale was a blossom that was greatly desired by the women of the olden times. It only grew to a small size, but the young men made a *hei* out of its blossoms. Then they went to court women on the feast days of the island. If a low bred man went courting he was very careful not to meet anybody. He was also careful to conceal his *hei*, lest he meet some *toa*, who would kill him. It was very difficult for him to obtain a woman.

The young men who went courting sang this song :

Koe tiale ke ole aki e tau fifine.

This is the tiale with which I court the girls.

Koe mena uka e ole fifine,

It is a difficult thing to ask of girls,

Koe mena uka e ole fifine.

It is a difficult thing to ask of girls.

The illicit love affairs of the natives were usually of a rather sordid variety. One unknown poet has, however, sung about the affairs of his heart after the fashion of a real Polynesian troubadour :

Halapala pouli a Huanaki

The road was dark, and the (god) Huanaki

Ke ūfi aki mata he fifine.

Covered the eyes of a woman.

Ka e fano au to liu mai.

But I will go and come back.

Ponataki e loto ke mau

I make up my mind

Hinō ai nō mata matāvē.

To look down to your toes for ever.

He kumā kua tuku e folau,

The rat has gone and drowned itself,

Folau he ha, folau he agihoa

But why should you drown yourself?

It is a sorry death

He fifine,<sup>12</sup>

For a woman.<sup>13</sup>

Higoa e akau na e kona? Koe

What is the name of the bush that is poisonous?

Pia e akau na e kona. Uta

It is the pia bush that is poisonous.

Hata loto ke vihi ki ai ke

To separate two hearts that are joined together

Kona kui ke pihia.

Is as venomous as that.

Kamapui kula kau hake

The sweet red leaf which I go to see at

Ai kau kitekite hifo kia

Tonga.

Toga.

## MARRIAGE

It is important to note that courting had nothing to do with marriage among the people of Niue. Courting was an individual affair, undertaken for the sake of gratifying the sexual desire; marriage was a social matter and was undertaken in the interest of the family and village. It does not follow that the individual was excluded from having a choice in mating, but the more important the families the less personal preferment was given weight. Important *toa* would choose their wives when the girls were born, or more usually when they were at about the age of six. These marriages, arranged by the families concerned, were for the purpose of

<sup>12</sup> Certain repetitions are omitted.

<sup>13</sup> Certain repetitions are omitted.



cementing family alliances. An old song illustrates this kind of engagement:

Fakatu ho kula, ti toka hifo,  
Fakatu he na mata e tiale, fakatu

To hau ke uta mai, ni koe  
Hau au he mau ako. Lamakai

Ho kula ti toka.

Choose a girl, then leave her behind,  
Choose her with a face like the tiale,  
choose

Then leave her there, until I come back  
And marry her. If the parents are  
greedy

Then leave her.

In adult marriages, the man asked the consent of the girl, which was given after she had obtained the sanction of her family. Run-away marriages were uncommon.

One way in which the man proposed was by use of the *hei*. The native instructions read:

Strip off three flowers of the tiale bush and put them in layers, then tie them up with the leaves of the kamapui plant, bring them and tie them with the feathers of the *tuaki* then place them in the ear holes, then turn the back of the head, then give them to your sister to take to the woman you are in love with. If the woman accepts (*talia*) she will wear the *hei* in her ears. If she refuses, she throws them away or returns them.

The following account given by Uea of another manner of proposal includes a description of the wedding ceremony:

When a man wanted a woman, whether she were from Tafti, or Motu, or from his own village, he arranged that his proposal should be carried to her. Then he prepared a *talo* pudding one fathom (*ofa*) long [distance from finger tip to finger tip, arms extended]. He took this *talo* pudding to the woman, who accepted it if she consented to the proposal. But if she refused, she returned the gift and waited until her aunt [*matua fifine*: either mother or aunt] saw the gift and ate it. Then the man made another *talo* pudding, in which he cooked a pigeon or a flying-fox. If once more the girl did not accept the gift, but her aunt ate it, it signified a final refusal. Nothing was made in return for the two puddings, when the girl and her parents refused the suitor.

But if the girl and her relatives accepted, they prepared a large feast, a smaller one was given at the home of the girl. The relatives of the man or of the woman held a small leaf of the fan palm under their arms; when the man married [*fai hoana*, taking a wife], he held it behind his back at the ceremony [*faiagahau*, meeting], and gave it to the mother. Then the *matua* of the girl made another small leaf and gave it to the girl to give to her parents-in-law so as to pay them back. After this all ate the feast together, and the two [bride and bridegroom] lived together.

If there were a large family, each relative gave a single feast in turn. These feasts were given on different days, and were presented to the bride-groom. Then this man had to give feasts in turn to his parents-in-law. After this the parents-in-law gave feasts to the girl's future family, either to the relatives of the mother or to the relatives of the father. Sometimes there were as many as fifty feasts made; this necessitated the making of fifty feasts by the relatives of the girl as return payment.



Falani states, "When the young couple were married they had a feast; the first feast was a wedding feast, but the second feast occurred when they carried the wife on a stretcher [two poles connected with tapa cloth]. They put the girl on this and carried her on their shoulders."

There is no element of wife purchase in the olden day marriage custom. The *talo* pudding in itself was not intended as a price given for the woman, as its value was always returned in full. I have a song in which an individual complains that although he had made a pudding which contained the meat of one hundred coconuts, the pudding had been refused by every woman and girl on the island. The feasts given by the man and his relatives in return for the feasts given by the girl and her relatives were supposed to be of equal value. If the family of the husband were unable to repay in full, they were liable to be held up to scorn in songs composed by the members of the wife's family.

If a man married and then lived with his wife's family, he was called a *maea*, or stranger. This word was not intended as a term of reproach. If, however, the man's family were poor and unable to reciprocate properly in regard to the feasts, the man was called a *maea fua*, as a term of derision. But if the family of the man had fulfilled in proper form its social obligations the man was then called a *maea piu*, a term indicating (so I was told) that the parents-in-law had been able to eat plenty of the *piu* leaves that their son-in-law had brought them.

A girl who had run off with a man without the consent of her family, tried afterwards to gain their approval. If she succeeded, the customary feasts were held between the two families.

The chief motives of families in arranging marriages were economic and political. Sometimes, however, a poor family would take up its residence with a powerful chief, rendering him service. This family would then be servants, or *fekafekau* (p. 60).

As far as personal choice went, women desired men who were brave in battle and skilled in hunting and fishing. Men desired women who were skillful in women's work, especially in tapa making. Personal attraction probably entered into the choice, at any rate both men and women are mentioned in the old stories as having beautiful faces (*mata fulufuluola*). One thing is certain, however, undersized men were always looked down upon.

In the olden days men desired that their wives be virgins. There were no tests made to determine the virginity of the bride, as in Samoa. The man would simply ask his bride before the feast, whether she were still a virgin. If the bride answered "yes," the man would then sing the following song to his mother:

Puleoto ne hake mai he papa,  
Felafela mo faliki hatapotu,

Neke to ke pilo he kelekele,  
Neke vale mai hona matua.  
Pule fakato he lamati.

Ka tu he ulu ti poaki mai,

Ka tu he tapakau ti poaki mai,

Pule fakatu he lamati

The shell comes out from a stone  
It is smashed and a mat is put on top  
of it,

Lest it fall and dirty the ground,  
Lest her parents be angry,

The shell falls when it is approached  
When it is wounded on the head it  
is given,

When it is wounded on the wings it  
is given,

The shell falls when it is approached.

The keynote of this song lies in the fact the word *pule* is here used with a double meaning: the female sexual organ and a shell.

Most marriages nowadays are performed by the Resident Commissioner. In 1920 there were 45 marriages on the island, 42 of which were performed by the Resident Commissioner, and 3 by the London Missionary Society. The people of Niue do not regard marriage as a religious rite. Feasts are still held as in former times to celebrate the union of the two families, but marriages now are much more of an individual affair; they usually commence by a man and woman living together. This is a crime under the New Zealand code. When a native policeman discovers that a man and woman are living together as man and wife "to the disgrace of the community" a notice is served upon both parties that they must either marry within a given time limit, or else each pay a fine. The couple usually marry, and since the respective wishes of the families are not taken into consideration the procedure arouses hard family feelings.

#### RELATION OF HUSBAND AND WIFE

The relationship between husband and wife in Niue is usually cordial, but seldom romantic. It is generally recognized that primitive marriages are not of a romantic nature. Thus Westermarck (21, p. 357) writes: "In the lower stages of human development, the strength of sexual love is far less than that of the tender affection with which parents embrace their children."

The essential feature of marriage, from an anthropological point of view, aside from its economic aspect, is the compact formed between two groups or families. It is only a recent development in Anglo-Saxon countries to stress solely the wills of the two compacting individuals. I do not mean by this that the question of personal choice is ever entirely absent from the matings of any people, and still less do I imply that strong attachments may not be formed within the marriage bond. But the main source of the primitive man's romance comes to him from exconjugial sources,

and marriage to him is seldom an affair of sentiment, as it is, or is supposed to be, to the Anglo-Saxon. Due to the white man's influence marriages of choice are supplanting prearranged marriages among the younger generations in Niue with results not all that could be desired.

While it is true that the relations between husband and wife in Niue were amicable as a rule, there were cases of domestic difficulty. As in our own civilization, these were the cases that afforded an opportunity for gossip, and the stories about bad husbands and bad wives have come down to the present day. There is for example the somewhat melodramatic story of Vihimaka.

He was a very savage man and he was in the custom of beating his wife. One day he wounded her so badly that the bones of her hands and feet protruded from the flesh, but she did not die. The sons of Vihimaka became very angry, and they drove their father from the *kaina*. Vihimaka went to the bush and climbed up a le tree. Then he jumped to the ground and was killed. When the sons learned that their father was dead, they went out and brought his body home to their *kaina*. Then they went to look for their mother.

The sons found their mother still living. Then they were very sorry because they had killed their father, and they held a consultation as to what they should do with their mother. The elder son said that it was just that they should kill her by drowning. So they took a mat and wrapped the mother up in it. They bound the mat between two poles and carried it toward the sea.

When the children brought their burden near the sea, their mother asked, "What is the name of this place, that it is so windy?"

The sons replied, "There is no wind, we have come to an inland plantation." They toiled upward until they reached the top of the cliffs, and the mother again asked,

"What is that sound of roaring? It sounds like the waves of the ocean."

But the children replied, "It is the bush, mother, there is no sound of roaring." Then the children threw the mother into the sea.

Those children are thoroughly cursed by the people of today.

Several stories tell of wives killing their husbands. In all of those on record the wives are irritated by their husbands' greediness. Primitive women are not, as a rule, jealous of their husbands, for the husbands have a right to bestow their affections where they deem fit. The following story is told of Tuatuali and Kanatuata:

The husband was very greedy and ate all the arrowroot. One day he awoke and found that his wife had fled. He pursued, caught, and brought her back.

Some time afterwards the husband said to his wife, "Cook me a *nani*,<sup>14</sup> that I may eat." The man slept, but the woman cooked. She cooked two *nani*. She first cooked a *nani haluhalu* (watery), and when this was cooked enough, she boiled a *nani puau* (thick). After this was all finished, the husband awakened and opened his eyes. At once the wife poured the liquid arrowroot into them. Then when the husband rubbed his burning eyes the wife poured the very thick arrowroot into

<sup>14</sup> Nani. Inside the husk of a coconut are placed small balls of coconut meat and arrowroot.



them. When the man was completely blinded his wife killed him with a club. It was thus that he died because of his greediness. This is the song that the wife sang:

Huhu la, talahau la, Tuatuali,	Ask and receive word from Tuatuali,
To nofo i fe? Koe nofoaga Muifonua,	Where is he now? He lives under the
	earth
Takelehifo ki Mata-ta-Maui."	In the cave of Maui.

Another story tells how a wife killed her husband in the early missionary days. The husband made the wife eat alone, contrary to Niue custom; and he ate all the best food himself, also contrary to Niue custom. The wife became very angry at the conduct of her husband and put the seed of the papaya in his food. This stuck in the man's stomach and he choked to death.

Thus we see how a wife killed her husband in Niue because of actions which were a part of the common mores in the Hawaiian islands before the abolition of the tapu system.

The usual method of procedure for a discontented wife in Niue was to run away from her husband. This action, if successful, constituted a divorce.

Other old stories relate that wives ran away from their husbands because of their greediness. In a time of famine, a woman and her husband went to look for food in the bush. The woman saw two coconuts on a tree and pointed them out to her husband. The man climbed the tree and picked the coconuts. He stayed aloft and drank the milk and ate the meat without giving his wife her share. The woman then fled to her family and never returned to her husband.

Vemoa, the grandfather of my informant Uea, had a sister by the name of Ligitoa. Ligitoa married a warrior by the name of Kilimafti. One day Kilimafti pushed the hand of his wife when they were eating a *miti* bird together. This rude action of her husband's so enraged Ligitoa that she at once fled to her own family.

Tokiahetifa married Fakahemanava, the son of the famous *toa* Mohe-lagi. She deserted him because his family did not treat her well. She afterwards married a man by the name of Taula.

I was told that it was never the custom for a man to discard his wife. If a wife did not please, the man was at liberty to choose another, but continued to keep and feed his first wife. In her altered circumstances she no longer ate and slept with her husband.

At the present time divorces are granted to both native men and women under the Cook Island's Act. The average number of divorces granted for each of the past six years is 10.5, surprisingly low considering that the majority of marriages on the island are forced marriages.



Two cases of "hen-pecked" husbands came to my attention while I was on Niue. One wife was accustomed to leaving her husband after every quarrel, and quarreling was not infrequent. Another wife, who was noted for her infidelity, caused her husband to resign his position as native teacher. Wife beating is rare.

The chief cause of trouble between married couples is the infidelity of either the husband or the wife. The wife no longer is so complacent about the adventures of her husband as she was in the olden times. The early missionary, Mr. Lawes, admitted that adultery had increased greatly since the conversion of the natives. The reason for this increase, I was told, was that in former days only the *toa* could go out courting, but with the coming of the missionaries any young blade could make approaches to girls with impunity.

Polygamy was common among the chiefs, it being customary for them to have from two to five wives; almost all the important warriors had at least two wives. My statistics are not complete enough to furnish information on the percentage of polygamous unions, but I have the records of four men, each of whom had married five wives. It does not appear that one wife was considered a head wife, yet the husband usually ate and slept only with his favorite wife. All of the wives lived in the same house as their husband. The church now decrees strict monogamy.

Statistics concerning the number of children in the families must be used with reservation. Only the children who grew up and raised families are as a rule remembered and the statistics available relate to the families of important men who had larger families than did ordinary men. Thirteen families of which I have records averaged nine children. Six heads of these families had one wife each, three had two wives, and four had five wives each. At the present day there is a large amount of infertility among the women, due to venereal disease. Where a marriage is fertile, however, as many as fourteen children is common to a single family.

Sexual disease entered Niue in the early missionary days, and this has made sexual promiscuity a grave danger to the health of the natives. Mr. Evison, a former commissioner of Niue, states: "Immorality is at the bottom of ninety per cent of the deaths. It also causes, through sexual diseases, lack of stamina, inclination to weak hearts, susceptibility to colds, consumption, etc.—Sterility also arises from this evil."

#### MARRIAGE BETWEEN RELATIVES

In the genealogies I have recorded, about ninety per cent of the people marry within the same native village, hence I could not know whether the

marriage was patrilocal or matrilocal. Taking a thousand individuals, however, and eliminating those who marry in the same village, I find that patrilocal marriages occur twice as often as matrilocal. This result is ascertained by referring to the birthplace of the eldest child. The natives say that the factors which induce a man to live with his wife's people are: relative wealth in land between the two families, and the degree of friendly relations existing between the man and his wife's family.

The average number of marriages taking place in a year at the present time is 45. (See Table.) In the past year fifty-eight per cent of the marriages took place between members of the same village. This figure is considerable less than the estimate of ninety per cent in former times, as worked out from the genealogical tables. However, a study of the marriage statistics of the past year shows that among the smaller and more isolated villages, the percentage of local marriages greatly exceeded the number of inter-village marriages.

TABLE SHOWING INTER-VILLAGE MARRIAGES, BASED ON AVERAGE ANNUAL UNIONS.

HUSBAND'S VILLAGE	WIFE'S VILLAGE										OTHER COUNTRIES	TOTAL
	Alofi	Makefu	Tuapa	Hikutavake	Mutalau	Lakepa	Liku	Hakupu	Fatiau	Avatele	Tamakautoga	
Alofi .....							1	1			1	4
Makefu .....												0
Tuapa .....			2	1	1							4
Hikutavake .....				1			1					2
Mutalau .....				1	1							2
Lakepa .....			1		1	2					1	5
Liku .....	1				1		3					5
Hakupu .....			1					5				6
Fatiau .....									1			1
Avatele .....	1							1		6	1	9
Tamakautoga .....											4	5
Other countries .....	1	1										2
Totals .....	3	1	4	3	4	2	5	7	1	6	7	45

This record shows a correlation between the size of a village and the number of marriages taking place within the village itself. Alofi is the largest village on the island, and each husband chose an outsider. In two of the smallest and most isolated villages, Hakupu and Tamakautoga, five out of six, and four out of five husbands chose their wives within their

own village. In former days all of the villages were small and isolated, and it is therefore not surprising to find that 90 per cent of the marriages took place within the village.

In studying the restrictions placed on the people regarding their choice of village mates, I arrived at the same conclusion as did Rivers, namely, that a man might not marry his sister, or any first cousin to whom he applied the name of sister (*mahakitaga*), thus including the daughter of his father's brother, his mother's brother, his father's sister or his mother's sister. Outside of the marriage tapu, however, there were no restrictions placed on brother and sister social relations. The marriage tapu has been and still is very strict, and from the study of five hundred marriages in my genealogies I find only one first cousin marriage, and none of brother and sister marriage. I also find only one second cousin marriage, although a second cousin was not considered as a sister, belonging as she did to another generation.

There was no feeling in Niue against a brother-in-law marrying his sister-in-law, and I find a record of two brothers marrying two sisters. On the other hand a brother-in-law never had any special privileges with his sisters-in-law. In another group of five hundred records I found a peculiar marriage which occurred during Christian times. A man, Tanele, married a girl, Lotoele. Lotoele died, and Tanele committed adultery with her married sister Meleoni. The husband of Meleoni divorced her, and she then married her brother-in-law, Tanele. There is also a legend concerning the love affair of a man and his wife's younger sister. When the elder sister became aware that her husband and her younger sister were having illicit relations she became so ashamed that she committed suicide.

The people had a great horror of incest. They had a legend that in former times people never died, but upon growing old acquired new skins like the crab. Then a father committed incest by marrying his daughter. The name of the father was Tikimatua and the name of the daughter was Tiki-tama, hence the native name for incest (*tiki*). After this crime the people lost their gift of immortality, and the daughter, in her shame, cried this song:

Ko Tikimatua, mo Tikitalaga,

Tiki, tiki, tiki ē, tiki ē.

Mate mahina, mate ala mai, mate ala  
mai.

Mate Kumā, mate fakaoti.

Tiki the father and Tikitalaga

Committed incest.

When the moon dies, it dies to wake  
again, it dies to wake again.

But when the rat dies, it dies forever.

This legend is a mixture of Melanesian and Maori ideas. For while the characters are Maori, the basis of the story, that is the ability to gain



immortality by changing one's skin, and the loss of this immortality through disobedience, has also been recorded by Dixon for New Britain (2, Vol. IX, p. 119). In another version of the incest story recorded by Smith (15, Vol. XII, p. 170), a son and daughter of the elder Maui married and gave birth to a child by the name of Tikitiki.

In spite of the feeling against incest in Niue, there have been many cases of it in the past. Many villages were started by single families, and since marriage took place within the village, it had of necessity to also take place within the family. These incestuous unions usually occurred when the people of the village were surrounded by hostile troops, and before other families arrived to help settle the village. In the early history of Avatele I have a record showing that Tinamau II married his sister. Even in the days of the Samoan missionary Paulo there is record of an ostracised woman who married and had three daughters and three sons. These children married one another. I was told that in former days incest was practiced in powerful families in order to keep the property within the family, but I have no records to support this statement.

#### DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

The position of the women in Niue was relatively high for primitive people, inasmuch as they were the partners and co-laborers of the men. The women slept and ate with their husbands, excepting where polygamy was practiced, in which case the husband ate and slept with his favorite wife. The women did the cooking, always aided by the men of the family. In preparing the bush (*vao*) for a plantation (*kaina*), the women burnt off the overgrowth, and weeded the place. The men then did the planting. After this the men and women took turns in keeping the place free from weeds. In the making of houses both the men and the women took part in weaving of the coconut or luku fern leaves. The men, however, performed the actual building of the house, and alone built the canoes and fished from them. Women were not allowed to enter a canoe. Women and children, however, caught snails and crabs on the reef. Only the women prepared the tapa cloth, and those who were clever in the art wove the feather ornaments and the hair girdles. Both men and women worked together in the preparation of the foods *tuhoi* and *pia*.

Did the women ever take part in the wars? When I asked this question of Hipa, the native chief of police, he was quite positive in his denial of the past existence of women "Amazons" on Niue. "It is true," he said, "that the women encouraged their men on the battle field by shouting



'*fakamalolo*' (be brave) to them. But as for taking actual part in the combat, no; it would not have been ladylike."

I believe that Hipa was right when he denied that women customarily fought alongside of the men. Still, there have been exceptions. There is, for example, a text, recounting the exploits of a Niuean Jeanne d'Arc.

The name of the woman was Halakikula. Her parents came from Mafuiki. Her father was named Finetifa, and her husband was named Tialei. He had a long *male* (field for sports) at Tamalagau.

The troops of Motu went down once to fight at Fatuana. Halakikula went down to where the Tafiti troops had gathered at Gutukiu. The Tafiti troops then waved their arms and shook with the war dance (*takalo*). But after this they turned back, for they were afraid. Then the woman Halakikula jumped into the war dance, and performed it so violently that she skinned her arms. After this she led the troops down to Fatuana, where they were victorious and defeated the people of Motu.

The following is a list of women who were strong in fighting in the olden times (*ne malolo he tau*). It is probable, however, that most of them exercised their strength in giving encouragement to the troops rather than in engaging in the actual combat. As related by an informant,

There was Tifakalipa. She was brave in the fight at the battlefield of Avaau.

There was Finekalaga. She was brave in the fight at the battlefield of Hikuniu.

There was Malimaliheiki. She was brave in the war at the battlefield of Mougakelekele.

There was Hakehakehetoa. She was brave in the war at the battlefield of Gutukiu. She only threw one stone, but the stone struck the head of a powerful *toa* splitting it in two. Makaea was the name of the *toa* whose head was split by the stone thrown by the woman.

While the women took no actual part in the government of the past, yet their influence must have been very strong in the molding of public opinion. At the present day if any trouble arises within the family it is the custom of all the distant relatives to visit the estranged couple and proffer words of admonition and advice. A family conclave of this nature took place at my *kaina*, and I noticed that the female portion of the family was the most vociferous. It is not to be doubted that the women played a large part in inducing the men to be brave and to do their share towards the family support. This no doubt is likewise true of any primitive society, for the males will far sooner endure the scorn of their own sex than that of their female cohorts.

It may be added that no account of primitive government is complete unless the power exerted by the influence of public opinion is taken into consideration. The savage is thereby not only affected by his exaggerated sense of pride, but he is also compelled to conform to the customs of his group through the danger of losing out in the vital matter of family or

group support. Civilized man may run counter to public opinion, providing the individual is neither excessively prominent nor excessively dependent, by the simple expedient of either changing his social *milieu* or else his habitat. The primitive man, however, is, according to a Niuean figure of speech, a branch of his family tree which would die if pruned off. It is furthermore a fact in Polynesia that the meaning of a man's name depends upon the right in which his associates regard him, and that both his good and his bad deeds are heralded abroad in song and in story, to the honor or to the disgrace of the relations, both the living and the dead. It is this high court of popular opinion which, in primitive societies, not only enforces the customs of the group, but also renders these same customs immobile and relatively immune to variation.

#### TREATMENT OF CHILDREN

It is certain that infanticide was never practiced to any great extent in Niue. Children were never killed in this island to the same extent as in Tahiti in the days of Ellis. Nevertheless there were certain occasions when children were removed. The statements by the early missionaries that children born out of wedlock were always put to death are not accurate. I believe that the children were usually permitted to live, but that bastards were treated with disrespect; they are not very highly regarded at the present day.

My native informants are almost unanimous in declaring that the only cause for infanticide in the olden days was the persistent crying of the children in time of war. The crying of the children imperilled the hiding place of the parents. The methods employed in killing the children were either to throw them into ravines, to abandon them in the bush, or to set them adrift on rafts in the sea.

There was a man who had one child, a boy. The boy kept on crying day and night. The father was very much afraid of the hostile troops, so he said to his wife, "I am going to kill that child." He went down to the sea carrying his child. When he arrived at the edge of the cliffs, he prepared a stretcher (*fata*) from the branches of the kafou tree. Then he dressed up the boy, and arranged a *hei* (ornament) of *tuaki* feathers behind the boy's ear. He finally lifted up the stretcher and let it slide down the cliffs to the sea. As the child slid down the cliffs the father sang this song,

Fulihi e tua, fulihi e ao, vilivili e pala tuaki.	Turn to the rear, turn to the front, spin around, Oh Tuaki feathers.
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The water killed the child, and the father went up rejoicing to his *kaina*.

One writer asserts that all female children were killed at birth in times of war, as only male children were desired. Although probably exaggerated, there may be some truth in the statement. There is a famous spot

in Niue called Tuo, where it is said that mothers were permitted to throw undesirable children over the cliffs, provided that they had first prayed to the proper gods.

Abortion used to be far more common than infanticide. If a woman was pregnant from an unworthy suitor, she usually took this means of bettering her condition. I could not learn of any drugs used for the purpose. I was told that pressure was the only means utilized.

The people of Niue resemble all other Polynesians in their fondness for children. Children are almost invariably well treated. The people desire many children, and if the family be small, children are adopted. This custom of parents changing children with each other, or, as it is called in Niue, *tamahiki*, is common to all Polynesian peoples.

There are a number of stories in Niue concerning parents who were cruel to their children, but these parents are evidently held up as being exceptional. One story tells how a father and his son went hunting a *tuaki* bird. The son climbed a tree and obtained the bird, and threw it down to his father. The father then took the ladder away from the tree, and proceeded to eat the bird alone. The story describes the emotional agony of the boy as he watched the bird disappear down the capacious gullet of his greedy parent. Finally the neck of the bird was also swallowed. At this culmination of the tragedy the boy thought that life was no longer worth the living, and, letting go of his branch, he fell headlong to the ground.

Children were seldom spoiled in Niue, as they are said to have been spoiled among the Maoris and the Hawaiians. The parents of Niue were not averse to whipping their children, and several times during my stay I witnessed the mothers and fathers in the act of beating their offspring. The women became very excited when angry and beat the children over the arms, legs and even the head with heavy sticks. I have never heard of any permanent injury resulting from this treatment.

It may be remarked that the people of Niue are never demonstratively affectionate in public. I believe that this is true of Polynesian people in general. Kissing is also not a primitive habit, and the people of Niue follow the Polynesian custom of rubbing noses (*figita*) as a method of greeting. This manner of salutation is somewhat animal in character and is perhaps the prototype of the more elaborate kiss. I have also observed that the women are prone to playfully bite children and other women as a mark of extreme affection.



## TREATMENT OF THE INFIRM

It was a custom in the olden days to abandon the old in the bush. A temporary shelter was erected, and a small supply of food was left for the infirm person. This custom doubtless arose from the bitter necessities of warfare. This, however, is unusual. Nowadays, the old and sick are either cared for by their relatives or placed in the Government hospital.

## DEATH

The Niue term for death is *mate*. The people usually say *mate-popo* (*popo* indicating putrefaction) since the word *mate* also indicates illness due to an accident or to warfare. The word *gaogao* also indicates sickness resulting from disease.

The mourning rites were held in a temporary house, called a *fale-tulu*. At the time of death all the relatives came together. This was called the *putu*. The relatives then held a *tagi*, or lamenting, which might last from fifty to one hundred days if the person lamented was of sufficient importance. During this time the relations from a distance came in and fought with the relatives close at hand.

In former times there was intense wailing and the singing of dirges and the men shaved off their long hair with a shark's tooth. Nowadays the women have the long hair, and they often shave it off at time of mourning. Self immolation was never a custom (p. 176), but the people committed suicide through grief, as shown by the following story:

A man by the name of Ikihemata, in the olden days, had as wife Ligitoa. Once the man went fishing in the sea while his wife sought for snails on the reef. In the course of his fishing the husband caught a small fish [the *telekihi*]. This he brought up to his mouth in order to bite its head and thus kill it before placing it in his basket. But the fish managed to jump down the man's throat, and commenced choking him to death. At this both the man and his wife lighted all their torches and attempted to relieve the situation. They were not able to do anything, and presently the husband breathed his last. Ligitoa was sorely grieved by the death of her husband, and she implored all her relatives to kill her, that she might die with her husband. Then her relatives killed her, and laid her beside her husband. It was thus that the woman showed the height of her devotion to her husband.

Though blood letting for the dead was never a custom in Niue, as it was in other parts of Polynesia, it was sometimes practiced. About twenty-five years ago the daughter of an erratic man died, and the father cut off his ear and let the blood trickle down on his shirt. Every year after this, on the anniversary of his daughter's death, the father put on this shirt, and putting braids of his daughter's hair on his person, he walked around the island. The custom of walking around the island after a death, is not unusual nowadays, although it would have been impossible in the old fighting days.



The *putu*, or gathering for the dead, must have borne some resemblance to an Irish wake. The relatives, during the time of mourning (*api-lava*) beat on the drums, and blew on the nose-flutes (*kofe*). They also danced and sang the mourning dirges (*tagi*). Feasts were held at frequent intervals.

It is quite likely that bodies of commoners were thrown into common village burial caves without further ceremony. Plate XII, *A*, illustrates the haphazard fashion in which the bones of the ordinary man may be found today. This cave, located between Alofi and Tamakautoga, was discovered two weeks before I arrived at the island. The natives had no knowledge as to whom the bones belonged, and they had no objections to their removal. The Resident Commissioner removed two complete skeletons and sent them to the Auckland Museum for study.

People of importance were differently treated. A pile of stones was made in the bush, and the body was placed on it and covered over with coconut leaves. When the fifth night (accounts differ as to the exact night) came, all the relatives gathered and annointed the body with oil. Then they took the body and carried it to its final resting place, always a secret cave, sheltered from the elements. Here the people watched fifty to a hundred nights until the body was entirely decomposed. After this the relatives gathered and had a feast. Sometimes a man's personal belongings, such as his *adz*, comb and decorations, were buried with him. I was informed that this was not always done, and that if it were done, these belongings were buried by request. According to one story, an expert canoe builder expressed a desire that his canoes be buried with him. There is no record of finding canoes in burial caves, however. The bodies were always buried in the *tapa* clothing. According to one informant, the bodies of certain people were preserved so that they lasted intact along with their *tapa* clothing for a hundred years. I could gain no confirmation as to any process of mummification, and consider the informant untrustworthy.

The bodies of the dead were also set adrift in canoes. Smith remarks that this method of burial (*fakafolau*) resembles the Moriori custom. The following is the famous story of Hiligutu, who was buried in this fashion and then came to life again:

There was a man named Hiligutu who died from a swelling of his stomach. His relatives then put his body in a boat, and taking the boat down to the ocean they set it adrift. Then the relatives went and performed the *tafeauhi* [the night dance] for the dead. After two nights had passed a certain man went down to the sea. There he saw someone chewing the skin of the hulahula banana, under the banana tree. The man feared that he saw a ghost, so he ran back and called to his relatives, "Come, go down and see the *mena lalauli* [black ghost; ghosts were always black in Niue] eating the hulahula." So the people went down to see. Oh! It was

Hiligutu, whom they had sent off in a boat, and whose stomach had been closed by the sea. He had then turned back alive, and had drifted up to the shore. He lived to a ripe old age.

The following story illustrates the choice of words used in mourning for the dead:

When the time came for Geogoeiki to marry, he lived away from home and did not return to visit his father Kililolagi. Then Kililolagi said to his boy, "Stay with your wife, but come back and weep at my funeral." But the boy answered, "I will go instead and weep among the *veka* [the rail bird, extinct] of the bush."

When the day arrived that Kililolagi died, Geogoeiki went to mourn at the house of his deceased parent. Then the women who had lived with Kililolagi mourned:

<p>Poaki a Kililolagi ē ē ē, ka hau a          koe ke tagi, e e e. Ti fano ke tagi ke          he tau veka he vao e, he oi he kono-          konoī ē ē . . He oi he konokonoi          e e e . . .</p>	<p>Kililolagi asked Oh, Oh, Oh, that          you come and mourn, Ah, Ah, Ah.          Then (you said) that you would go          and weep among the <i>veka</i> of the bush.          Oh, Alas for the grinding of the teeth,          Oh, Oh . . . Alas for the grinding          of the teeth, Ah, Ah . . .</p>
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Then Geogoeiki replied to the wailing, thus:

<p>Ua pikopiko timenae, ha talu matua          otī nī, he oi kekekele u e . . .          He oi he kekekeleu ē ē ē . . .          He oi kilikilio ē ē ē . . .          He oi he kilikilio ē ē ē . . .</p>	<p>Do not tell lies, he is the father of us          all, alas, alas . . .          Alas, alas, alas . . .          Oh, Oh, Oh . . .          Ah, Ah, Ah . . .</p>
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This song makes use of very ancient words, and of the frequent ejaculation *ē*, as is customary in Polynesian mourning songs. The peculiar feature of this song, however, is the use of onomatopoeic words used as fillers in imitation of the song of the rail bird. It will be noticed that these words have a peculiar significance in relation to the story as a whole.

Earth burial as practiced in Niue is a custom taken from the Samoans at no very remote date. Thomson (18, p. 52) writes:

When a man is sick to death his friends bring his food (which he is long past eating), and say, "Grant our request; if go you must, go altogether." But his dying promise is not enough. As soon as the breath is out of him they lay a fragment of white bark cloth beside the body, and sit watching for an insect to crawl on to it. The insect is the dead man's *moui*, the soul (literally life), and it is carefully wrapped up and buried with the body. The grave having been dug and the body washed, oiled, and wrapped in bark cloth, laid in it, heavy stones are piled upon it to keep the *aitu* (ghost) down.

According to my informants the body was kept for some days, and washed and oiled as usual. Then it was taken out under a tree and a cloth spread beside it. If no insect came, another tree was sought out. Then when the insect came (any kind of insect would do), both the body

and the insect were buried together. This custom was followed only for the corpses of important people; others were buried at once.

I do not doubt that this custom was brought into Niue by the early Samoan missionaries, along with the Christian teachings. There are three pieces of evidence in support of this conclusion: Almost identically the same custom has been described by Stevenson as occurring in Samoa (17, p. 196); my informants were unanimous in saying that bodies were never buried in the ground in the olden times; while the lizard was sacred, and supposed to contain a ghost, this was not true of every insect in Niue, yet the body was not buried with a lizard, but with the first insect that walked onto the mat.

Nowadays the insect burial is done away with, and the people are buried under large coral gravestones in their own plantations. The graves are usually plentifully supplied with the implements of the dead, so as to lend comfort to the souls in the Christian heaven. The utensils are not broken before being put on the grave. The people are very much afraid of the gravestones, although these are made especially heavy in order to keep the *aitu* down. There is a current belief that standing on a gravestone brings death to the offender within the year. The stones are distributed in profusion along every road, and the natives will not walk by them alone at night.

Formerly, the entire plantations and coconut trees of the deceased were destroyed at the time of the owner's death. His bush and fishing grounds were also placed under a tapu. The people who washed the body after the death were tapu, and could not prepare food. After the final feast terminating the mourning period, an interval of perhaps a hundred days, the tapu was lifted. My informants knew of no ceremony regarding the lifting of the tapu.

At the present time the trees of a dead person are often tapu for a period of six months after the owner's death. A coconut tree leaf is bound to the tree as a sign of the tapu. I was informed by the natives that this was done out of respect for the dead. The members of the family usually do not go to church for a period of five to ten days after the death; the period may be extended to six months or even a year. They give as a reason that they do not wish to appear in public during the time of their mourning. The real reason doubtless is that the church is tapu, and they have been rendered unclean by the death. The people will not eat the food of the same variety as that last eaten by the deceased until they have gone to church for the first time.



## MATERIAL CULTURE

## HOUSES

Smith writes, "The ancient Niue house was about as indifferent a kind of edifice as is to be found amongst the Polynesians. Made of *niu*, or coconut leaves, it quickly decayed, and had to be replaced. . . . But notwithstanding the inferiority of the Niue house (*fale*) originally, the people have a complete set of names for every portion of a large house built in semi-European fashion at the present day."

The Niuean names for parts of a house obviously do not apply to the simple coconut hut mentioned by Smith. They indicate a complicated structure which went out of fashion before the first white missionaries arrived at Niue. The original style of house building was changed at the request of the native missionaries from Samoa, who found the Niuean houses too cold for their convenience and hence urged building with coral, wood, and plaster. The people were told that unless they made their houses air-tight, ghosts would enter and attack them. People who could not afford the new kind of house continued to live in the temporary huts.

The model of the old style native house is shown in Plate V, C. Its principal features are: the wall poles (*puipui*); curved rafters (*talaoa*), leading to an interior ridgepole; doorway (*puhala*); interior poles (*pou-tama*), made of hibiscus, supporting the ridgepole; side poles (*poumotua*), made of kafika wood, supporting the roof; roof (*ato*), made of sugar cane; binding poles; ridge binding poles (*fakahiva*); and two roof binding poles (*taotao*), made of hibiscus.

The flooring is of crushed coral over which mats were laid. It is my belief that there was neither divisioning into rooms nor furniture except wooden pillows. The cooking was done outside of the house in a coconut thatched house erected for the purpose. Blinds made of coconut leaves used to hang down on the walls of the house.

Temporary houses were made from the luku fern and perhaps the unimportant people had only this kind of house. A story relates that "The people cut down trees and bound them together [with sennit]. Then they brought the leaves of the luku fern, and thatched the house with it. But these houses were not permanent, and they could only be made use of for one or two months. Then the house decayed." According to another



story, the luku house was of such poor construction that it failed to keep out the rain.

The more wealthy families of today build houses of coral limestone with corrugated iron roofs. Some such houses are put up for show, the family sleeping in the rear of the house in a cheaper dwelling place.

In the modern house roofed with sugar cane, the older structure has become greatly simplified; the number of pillars has been reduced to four, the *poumotua* and *poutama* pillars being lacking.

This kind of house is, of course, much smaller than the old style house and less attention is given to its construction. In many houses wooden planks take the place of the former coconut leaf blinds. The planks appeal little to the esthetic eye, but are useful in keeping out the night prowling *aitu* (ghosts). During my stay at Alofi a part of the family of my host's *kaina* slept in a plank walled house. At night every crevice was carefully closed.

### CANOES

The old canoes of Niue are described by Erskine (3) as follows:

These first comers were soon succeeded by ten or a dozen more canoes, each containing four persons, and all of similar construction, from twenty to twenty-four feet long, made apparently of a single tree with raised washstreaks, the fore and after parts covered over and handsomely carved. An outrigger, composed of one long spar, floating in the water parallel to the canoe, and supported by three transverse ones, forming a platform, on which lay their spears and other implements, projecting on one side.

According to the account given to me by a native, the building of a canoe was a big undertaking:

The people first lighted a fire under the roots of a tree. Then they cut at it with their axes after it had been softened. After the tree had fallen to the ground, they cut it with their stones and burned both ends of the tree. They finally burned out the insides with fire. This was a tedious process, as the axes had to be cooled off in banana leaves between strokes. The people planned that one canoe would take a year to finish. After the canoe was finished it was taken down to the sea.

After a new canoe was made the people went out into the bush to shoot birds, in order to make a feast. Then the canoe was taken down to the sea for its first trial. The people in the canoe fished from dark until daylight. All the fish taken were tied together and hung onto a branch of the *matakula* tree, so that the people might see them. Then the fish were brought to be cooked in front of the *mata-fai-tuga* (temple grounds). This blessed the new canoe. The men, but not the women, were allowed to eat the fish, for they were sacred.

The Niueans built four-seated canoes (*vaka heke fa*) and six-seated canoes (*vaka heke ono*). They were familiar also with the double canoes of the Tongans, but seem not to have made them for their own use. However,

I have seen Niue children sailing models of double canoes along the shallow reefs. The general appearance of a typical *vaka heke fa* is shown in Plate VI, *A*. The chief structural features of this type of canoe are: the body, made of malili, tamanu, puka, telie, or motooi wood; the upper part (*oa*), commonly made of le wood; the outrigger (*hama*); three outrigger supports (*kiato*); twelve small sticks (*tutuki*) fastening the outrigger to its supports; two sticks (*fuhinafi*) forming a platform on the outrigger supports; five inside supports (*puke*) pieces of wood (*papeau*) to break the force of the waves. The paddles were made of toi wood.

Of the four men who paddled the canoe, the first was called *matavaka*; the second, *faumua*; the third, *fauloto*; the fourth, who was in command, *ikivaka*.

Six seated canoes, apparently the largest size, were rare. Three canoes of old Niue are mentioned in the following native account:

The canoe of Hio, who sang the following song:

Fati kinikini e peau a Togo.	Make choppy the waters of Togo.
Haku vaka kua holo niua he kiato kua fakatavelia.	My canoe goes backwards, its outrigger floats riding the waves.

The canoe of Fakaau of Motunono, Tafti, who kept it at Apagai, Avatele, and used it to steal bananas and *pala* (a kind of fish) from the fishermen of Tavahili at Tuapa.

The canoe of Lavakula, who went *mamakava* (in response to a vow) up the sea path to the east of Tuo at Mutalau against the *toa* Foutapu.

According to legends and songs, the Niueans were in the custom of visiting Tonga and Samoa in their canoes. Even the four-seated canoes were capable of travelling from island to island, according to native tradition. One account relates a trip to New Zealand:

The relatives of Taumatatuakau and Fokikihamata lived at Falekakoatua. When this village was wiped out by the troops of Tafti, the two men fled. They had many boats at Avaiki and some land where they were in the custom of dwelling and eating the fish of the sea.

Then Taumatatuakau and Fokikihamata heard that the troops were preparing to attack Avaiki. So they gathered up food and carried coconuts to the beach and loaded them in the canoes. There were three boats. Then they fled.

There were eight men. Atuuna handled the third canoe. Taumatatuakau drifted ashore at New Zealand. But Atuuna drifted ashore at Aitutaki (Cook Islands), where he lived and brought up his children and ruled over his lands. When the time of Christianity came, he heard that his relatives who had fled with him were still living. For he knew nothing about this until a Niue man named Lopati met a New Zealand man who told Lopati that in New Zealand there dwelt Niue men from Avaiki, whose ancestors had fled from their country. Then the story of Atuuna was also told to his children.

## CLOTHING AND ARTICLES OF ADORNMENT

The chief garment of the women of Niue in olden times was made of tapa cloth (*hiapo*). The men sometimes wore a malo of this material. Tapa was made of the bark of the hibiscus, or ovava, painted with the juice of the kafika tree, and placed in salt water in a cave for several days, when it was removed and alternately rubbed and scraped with a fossil shell (*fohi*) to form a design. The rubbed parts became red, the peeled parts white. It was then rinsed in fresh rain water. For illustrations of Niue tapa, see Smith (15).

Erskine (3) relates that the natives seen by him were entirely naked, but he saw only the few men who came out to his ship, women not being allowed to go in canoes. Some of the pictures which I have received of native bird catchers depict them as being naked. In the picture of the god Limaua a girdle of ti leaves (*titi*) is shown (Pl. XIII, C). As this god represents an ancient *toa*, it may be assumed that warriors were accustomed to wearing girdles. The *toa* wore also *kafa* (more properly termed *fatu-a-kafa*), which were made of quantities of braided human hair (*fili*), gathered into loops at the ends and fastened about the waist (Pl. VI, B). These served to carry war stones. Both the ti leaf girdles and the *kafa* were made by women.

Smith describes the *kafa-hega*, or girdle, made of feathers woven or bound to a fabric:

There were three kinds of feather girdles: the *kafa-hega*, made of green parrot feathers; the *kafa-hega-tea*, made of white parrot feathers, which are found under the beak; and the *kafa-palua*, which is said to be the handsomest and most valued of all. The feathers were plaited into fine twine, then twisted into cords the size of a pencil, and fastened together. The women would work at one of these for years.

Falani writes:

The people plucked the red feathers off the *hega*. Only the clever women were chosen to plait them. Only the *toa* were able to wear *kafa* belts when the people gathered for feasts and dances. When the game of *ta tika* was played it was the custom of some of the men to run around the field after the feast. If there happened to be five *toa* with *kafa* belts, then these five men ran around. They ran around because they were proud of their *kafa* belts.

The *hega* belts were worn by high *toa* in times of war and were used as tokens of surrender. Thus if a chief wished to avert a war, he sent a *hega* belt to his opponent, acceptance of which indicated a desire for peace.

Smith says:

The *pala-hega* was a sort of plume worn at the back of the head and kept in position by a band of *hiapo* round the head. They were made with a core of dried banana bark, round which is wrapped strips of *hiapo* having scarlet feathers of the



Hega fastened on to them, and at the top and bottom the yellow feathers of the Kulukulu are lashed on with hair braid. From the top springs a plume of red and white Tuaki and Tuakikula feathers, making altogether a rather handsome ornament.

The black wings of the *manu folau* (a black sea bird which came to the island only during the hurricane season) were also used in making the *pala-hega*.

Men of Niue wore *hiapo* hats (*potiki*) in war, at feasts, and perhaps on other occasions, such as fishing. The war hat (*potiki tau*) consisted of a band of *hiapo* wound around the head. The leader of the troops, or the *takitaki tau*, wore a *pala-hega* in his *potiki*. Another kind of hat, the *matatua*, comes to a point over the head (Pl. XIII, C). A third variety of war hat, the *kautau*, is formed the same as the *potiki tau* but without the *pala*. Its name signifies that it was used by the troops for protection. In an old Niue song a dead *toa* complains (through the medium of an inspired mourner) that he wore three hats upon the day of the battle, and that he therefore fails to see how he could have fallen.

The women of today are very fond of combs (*hetu*) made from a light colored wood, the *oluolu* (Pl. VII, A). In olden times these were worn by both men and women. Many modern fans (*iliili*) are woven from the *Pandanus* (Pl. VII, A). This art, also modern basket weaving (Pl. VI, C), was taught by the Samoans.

The *lavalava* of printed calico is now seldom seen in Niue, being worn only for fishing and bathing. A much ornamented modern *titi* is made from the bleached bark of the *fou* tree, but mostly for exportation as curios. European clothing is now commonly worn, much to the detriment of health in the opinion of the medical officials of the island, because of the difficulty in keeping it dry. A return to the *lavalava* may savor of the much dreaded "heathenism," but it has much to recommend it from the standpoint of both hygiene and esthetic appeal.

#### MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The only musical instruments which the Niueans possessed were the drum and the nose flute. Drums were called *nafa* or *logo* and were beaten with *maile* sticks. Smith describes them as logs hollowed out and split along nearly the whole length. The nose flute (*kofe*) was made from the wood of the *pao* tree. The flute shown in Plate VII, C has three holes on the side. One of the ends is plugged, the other open.

#### SACRED ARTICLES

The treasure of the island was the *tokamotu*, described to Smith by King Fata-a-iki as "The Alito, i. e. the precious thing, or Toka-motu, of this



island in ancient times was a parroquet feather, which was bound up with a hair girdle, and then wrapped in the inside leaf of the banana, and also a fan palm leaf." However, the chief old men of the island described the *tokamotu* to me as follows: "They made from the core of the *kafika* tree a sharp pointed wooden knob [in form like the end of the *tika*, or dart]. They covered this with tapa cloth, and fastened the whole with dried banana skin." I am at a loss to understand this discrepancy in the two accounts. I believe, however, that the account given to me is the true one, because the two best informed men on the island, Uea and Falani, agree in all essentials of the description. Also it was the custom on the island to store up treasures, such as parroquet feathers, and the precious tail feathers of the *manufo lau* (a small black bird that appeared only in stormy weather) in dried banana skins and the folded leaf of the fan palm. It is possible, therefore, that Fata-a-aki confused the *alito*, or treasure of the common people with the *tokamotu*. The *tokamotu* was kept suspended on the inner part of the roof of a sacred wooden meshed house at Fatuana. The house was very tapu, only chiefs being permitted to enter, and they only with permission. Any unauthorized entrance to the house was supposed to result in blindness. A fire was kept constantly burning beneath the *tokamotu* to keep it warm. (See pp. 167, 168 for account of power ascribed to the *tokamotu*.)

The *fue* was an emblem carried by the leading *toa*, to be thrown down before the enemy as a challenge. It consisted of the leaves of the *laumamanu* plant tied with leaves of the *kanai*. It was handed down from father to eldest son, as it was thought to contain the family mana.

Tofolia gives the following account:

The *fue* was a very sacred thing, it was like a flag. Once Kalalahetau seized a *fue* and led the Motu people against Tafiti. But he saw a beautiful woman in the house of one of the enemy, so he left the *fue* at the back of the house, and entering seized the woman. Then Avatele fought against the troops. The Motu people were beaten and fled, being pursued by the Tafiti. Kalalahetau was killed by the enemy. He died because he was cursed for having left the *fue*.<sup>15</sup>

The Niueans also had a flag, *matini*, consisting of a tapa cloth, or a yam leaf, bound to a stick. It was not carried in war, however, but was hoisted when a *patuiki* was anointed, and was also used in rain-making ceremonies. Niue traditions relate that the *matini* was brought to Niue from Tonga by Tihamau (p. 26). It is interesting to note that the word *matini* does not appear in the Tongan vocabulary. In Samoa the word means a leaf sacrifice to keep away ghosts. Any flag is now called a *matini*, but the small signaling flags of ships are called *fue*.

<sup>15</sup> It was tapu for a warrior to have intercourse with any woman before fighting.

## FISHING

## FISHING APPARATUS

Smith mentions the fact that the people of Niue possess seines (*kupega*), although he did not see any. None came to my observation, although I obtained a model of the hand fish net (Pl. X, *F*), which was used mostly for catching flying fish by the natives. This fishing was done at night by aid of a lighted torch (Pl. X, *G*) fastened to the rear of a canoe. The torch (*hulu*) was made of kafika wood, the bound fagots were loosely tied to the base and could be slipped along to the tip as they burned. Strict tapus accompanied the making of the *hulu*. Those who dried the wood before the fire must first bathe and fast, and those who made the torch must keep silent during the process.

Fish hooks (*matau*), made from the roots of the maile tree, were usually on a line of banyan root, five or six to a line, with stone sinker attached. (See Plate XI, *A*.) Very strong hooks and line of the same materials were used for shark fishing (p. 97). Fishing lines of spiders' webs are said to have been used in olden times. For the benito (*takua*), a heavy pole and a pearl shell hook is used at the present time, but this was not known until introduced from Samoa by a missionary (p. 97), as the mother-of-pearl was not to be found in Niue. This missionary also introduced the use of the imitation rat (Pl. XI, *B*), for catching cuttle fish (p. 193). No evidence has been found of the existence in pre-missionary days of a spear for catching fish. A fish spear with four iron prongs, is now used.

## REEF FISHING

On the fringing reefs of Niue women and children fish (*fagota*) for snails and crabs. The snails are eaten and their shells are used for ornamental purposes. The shell of the giant Trydacna (*geegee*) was formerly used for axes (*toki*) (p. 100). The children spend much time at the beach collecting the yellow snail shells, which they call *koloa* (wealth). Like tapa cloth and pigeons, strings of these shells were given as prizes for games in the olden days. The natives now ornament their houses with the shells and give away large numbers of the necklaces at feasts. The *pule tea*, or white cowrie shell (*Amphippas ovum*), was especially desired. These were hung around the neck, or used for the ornamentation of canoes. Fakalagatoa wrote the following account of the diving for the *pule tea*:

The *pule tea* was the rarest of all things in the sea. There were *pule tea* in the sea at Avatele, but the place of their deposit was very deep. All the strong men gathered to look at these shells, but no one was strong enough to reach the bottom where they lay. There were also sharks and many savage fish that gathered around the place where the shells lay.

Finally one man made a plan. The thought occurred to him to go and shoot pigeons and obtain their fat. So he cooked the pigeons in a fire. He also went and picked the fruit of a certain tree. The fruit of this tree tasted well, and it was very smooth, no one was able to hold it. Then the man went and obtained the fat from the pigeon and rubbed it around the fruit of the tree. After this he took the fruit down to where the shells lay and threw the fruit into the sea. At once all the sharks came up, not one remained around the shells. All the sharks came to eat of the fruit, because it was very shiny and had a greasy skin. So they chased the fruit of the tree in order to eat it. They opened their mouths to the fruit, but it was difficult for them to grab it because it was very slippery. Thus they continued in violent pursuit, but they were never able to hold the fruit in their mouths.

Presently the man saw that the sharks were far away chasing the deceiving fruit. He looked down at the resting place of the shells and saw that it was clear. Then he dove down and seized some. He came up rejoicing and returned to his *kaina*. He was made a chief (*iki*) because of this feat.

This story is well known in Niue, but accounts vary concerning the manner in which the sharks were disposed of. Uea writes that the name of the man was Lefunuku, that he was the younger brother of the great hero Laufoli, and that he lived at the time that Fokimata was *patuiki*. According to this account the man thrust sticks wrapped up in tapa into the sharks' mouths, and thus muzzled them. He then dove for the *pule tea*.

Sharks were hunted with hook and line for their teeth, which were used for cutting hair, two or three teeth being used at a time.

It is said that the people were without fishhooks in the olden times, and that they were in the custom of snaring the fish. People then had their private holes in the reef in which they kept fishes and fed them. When the fishes were wanted as food, they were snared with lassos. Trouble was constantly arising due to theft from these preserves. Fish were also stupefied by casting the berries of the *kieto* and the *kauhuhu* into the water. (Smith 15).

At the present time the benito (*takua*) is considered the most desirable fish. It is caught with a heavy pole and a pearl shell hook but during February only. This kind of fishing was introduced from Samoa by a missionary, who also taught the Niueans to catch the cray fish (*uo*) and the cuttlefish (*feke*) by use of an imitation rat to which the *feke* clings.

In the Niue dictionary, the term "to fish" is given as *hiki*, or *futi ika*. I heard only *futi ika* used. A fisherman is called *tagata takafaga*, or more commonly, *tagata fa futi ika*, a man in the habit of catching fish. There is no recognized class of fishermen in Niue. In olden times the men who lived by the sea were expected to devote a considerable portion of their time to fish. Nowadays, when everybody lives within a mile of the shore line, it is only the young men who engage in fishing. The older men, and the women,



work the plantations and exchange *talo* and yams with their relatives for fish.

### FISHING SONGS AND STORIES

In former times the singing of appropriate chants was an essential introduction to all successful fishing expeditions. The following is a sample of a fishing chant, and alike all charms of this nature, it had to be sung correctly in order to be effectual.

Ke matagi ke fano he aga ke fakalogo e pa,	The wind came right along and blew against a wall,
Mo e fakanono mitaki fuga he tofia ke totou e peau.	It was silent and rested on top of the sea to count the waves.
Ke hifo haku vaka ki ai, ke fata ha ika	My canoe shall go down to the sea to catch fish,
Nae fata ai he moana.	To catch fish from the sea.
Hake mai! Hake mai!	Come up! Come up!
Ha ika kili kahi	Oh dark brown fish
Ha ika ulutafatalei	Oh barb headed fish
Ha ika tala tua mea	Oh grey backed fish
Ha ika tala tua uli	Oh black backed fish
Ha ika tala mamahi	Oh rough backed fish
Tau pulepule he uhotoko hokulo. Takina hake e tuaga a Huanaki. Koe fakamalopoa.	Oh striped fish from the bottom of the deep. Come up all ye who are standing by Huanaki. He is the leader of the fish (the fish god).
Kitu, Kitu, e....., a!	Amen.

Falani writes:

The people sang chants when they went out fishing, and then they came home with many fish. When they killed a fish, whether it was a shark, a *paala*, a *valu*, or any other large fish, they sang out the following chorus:

Tu mai Tagaloa!	Come out Tagaloa! <sup>16</sup>
Tu mai Tagaloa!	Come out Tagaloa!
He iō!	He iō

Then the people from shore would call out, "The fish is dead. Who killed it?"

Then the people in the fishing fleet sang the *lau*,

Tu mai Tagaloa!	He iō!; He iō!
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There are many stories concerning the dangers encountered by the fishing fleets and the fishermen. The following are a few examples.

The fleet went down to catch fish at Liha. A wind blew up from the rear and the way back was obstructed. Iokane went, and his younger brother, Iotuki, and his brother-in-law, Tamaitoga. They were all three in the same boat. When they turned to go back to the landing place the wind was very strong and their boat commenced to fill with water. Then Iokane cried to Iotuki, "Oh, Iotuki, jump into

<sup>16</sup> Tagaloa, the chief god of Niue, is here identified with the rainbow.



the sea, for it is necessary to bail the boat in order to return, as it is about to sink." Iotuki jumped into the sea and Tamaitoga bailed the boat, but he could not empty it.

Then Iokane said to Iotuki, "It is because you hold on to the boat that it is full of water. Open up your hands and swim!" Iotuki opened his hands and let go of the boat. Then Iokane paddled very hard, and left Iotuki behind. As Iokane fled Iotuki called out:

"Iokane, what are you doing? I am drowning, Oh, Iokane and Tamaitoga, and you are paddling to go away! Oh, help me Iokane and Tamaitoga, turn back and pick me up, do not leave me, Iokane ē ē ē, Iokane ē ē ē!"

Iokane went to the shore and landed, and Iotuki tried to swim ashore. Finally he drifted to a rough place in the sea. He stayed there and called out to passing canoes, "They turned back to Tufonua to the landing place." But no one heard Iotuki.

Finally one boat came near to him, and the man in the stern of the boat called out to the man in front, "Who is that that calls out and cries to us?" But the man in front of the boat answered:

"Ugh! Row for your life, it is the *aitu* who are crying and calling out, they are about to kill us." Then the man in the back called out loudly to the man in the front:

"It is a man from a sinking boat of the first fleet that calls." But his prayer was of no avail.

Finally a boat came to the rescue. It was the boat of Hiligitu, who heard his cries from the beach and took pity on the drowning man. The parents of Iotuki rejoiced when their son was taken to the shore.

Two stories relate how fishing fleets were blown away from the shore by adverse winds. In one mention is made of the fact that sails were used by the fleet, and that the fleet was a considerable distance from the land when the wind changed.

It appears that the Niueans did not place their sole reliance on the fish hook in hunting for sharks, but that sometimes the fish was tackled in the sea. Thus, "the father of Iotuki was fishing for sharks. Suddenly a weak shark got on his hook, but the hook broke. The man then dove for the shark, and struggled with the fish on the bottom of the sea. Then the shark bit the man's foot. The man fled up to the surface and the shark went to his own home (*motu*)."

People have been known to have been killed or badly injured by sharks, but occurrences of this nature were rare at Niue.

Laono and his wife and children went fishing at night. The wife and children used torches in hunting (*ama*) for crabs on the reef, while the father was catching *monega* fish in the pools. Then his fish net was carried off by the waves and was lost, for it was night time. When daylight came the fishing net was seen floating outside on the sea. The man swam out to get the fish net, but a shark came and bit him. The shark first took a piece out of his back, then another piece from his thigh, but the man was very strong. Then the shark came along and bit into an arm of the man and bore him right down to the bottom of the sea to the sands. The man pulled at his left arm, but it was bitten right off. The man rose to the

surface with his remaining arm. He was alive and strong, but he was one handed up to the day he died.

Of the present fishing superstitions, many have no doubt come from other islands. Thus it is considered bad luck to cross the light of another man's torch. One superstition, unquestionably very ancient, states that canoes are tapu to women. I have never heard of a Niue woman getting into a canoe. Like the Marquesans, the Niueans believe that women would bring the canoe bad luck. I, however, enquired of a well informed native why this tapu is in force. The native was at first ashamed of the tapu, and denied its existence. When I insisted, however, I was told that canoes were very scarce in the olden days, and that there were not enough to go around and therefore women were forbidden their use.

Making the wrong kind of fishing torch (p. 96) was supposed to bring bad luck, as shown in the following story:

The people hated Kuimaka of Avatele, but he was a very strong man. He planned revenge and went down to the sea to fish at night. He prepared a torch and he also prepared some *fua tuitui* [candle nut fruit]. He scorched these together with banana skins, and he tied them up with the candle nuts in the middle of the banana skins. He also took this for a torch down to the sea.

The time arrived when all the fishermen lighted their torches, and Kuimaka lighted his torch and went up to Tufonua, and all the fishing boats followed after him. Presently the people saw some bad signs (*fakamailoga kelea*) in the sea. They called out saying that they wished to turn back. But Kuimaka cried out that they should move up and catch the shoals of fish at Tokapole. Presently Kuimaka saw the signs getting very bad in the sea. The fishermen turned back, but they all died in their canoes.

Kuimaka came out onto the reef at Avatele, and this reef is called Kuimaka up to this day. Kuimaka did this to the people because they hated him. That was why he had prepared a torch out of *tuitui* and banana skins. By doing this he brought bad luck to the people.

#### ADZES

Adzes (*toki*) were made of coral rock, Tridacna shell (*geegee*), and black volcanic stone (*maka uli*). The coral adzes, of which I saw no specimen, were evidently very crude; the blade was cooled, between strokes in banana leaves in order to prevent its breaking. The *toki geegee* is illustrated in Plate VIII, *A, e*. Most of the adzes that I saw were of the *maka uli* type (Pl. VIII, *A, b, c*). Where the stone came from is not definitely known. One tradition recounts that the boat in which the two men departed from the island, returning with the first coconuts from Tutuila, also brought the *maka uli*. Smith believes that the black stone is similar to volcanic rock found in Samoa. In Bishop Museum is a jade blade which was unearthed in a *kaina* at Tamakautoga in 1890 (Pl. VIII, *A, a*).

The native adzes vary considerably as to their hafting. Some handles have a knob at the elbow, others are smooth. The long arm of some are pointed toward the hand, some are flat at this end. Also some of the handles are decorated. Smith states that a felling adz was called *fututu*, and a stone chisel *tofi*.

## FOOD AND FOOD PREPARATION

## VEGETABLES

The food plants of Niue include those which have long grown on the island and those of recent introduction.

Talo (*Colocasia antiquorum*) is plentiful and is the main article of diet. Some of the varieties are:

Talo-uli	Talo-pulekau
Talo-paku	Talo-toga
Talo-maga	Talo-matau
Talo-maha	Talo-mataga
Talo-matagi	Talo-fati
Talo-pogi	Talo-kula

A variety of giant talo, known as *kape*, is eaten in times of famine. Smith states that talo-fiti, talo-kula, and talo-kiamo were introduced to Niue in recent times. Judging from its name, the talo-toga also is a recent importation. According to native tradition all the varieties of talo were unknown to Niue in the olden times. The following is the story concerning its introduction.

The men of Tafiti came up to fight against Motu. One man, however, stopped half way and went into the bush. When the man turned around he saw a plant growing near him. He went and had a look, then he took it and covered it up with a long green leaf and left it where the torches were kept. He also plaited it with long black hair.

When the troops came back from the fight against the people of Motu, a man by the name of Lefutogia took the plant and planted it at Manulakafia. Then when the talo had grown a bit he replanted it near the mouth of a cave at Kakaoka in Tafiti. He placed it there so that it would be near the water and that he might water it every day. When Lefutogia saw that his talo was growing well he cut down trees and made a *kaina* at the seaside, calling his *kaina* Fehalaga. It was here that he planted his talo.

When the talo was full grown the time came along for the making of arrow-root. Lefutogia thought that he would take some arrow-root as a present to his chief. So he brought a talo leaf and covered the arrow-root with it. Then Lefutogia came up and made a feast for the chief. The chief, however, did not eat the arrow-root in the night, for it was very dark and he wished to see what the arrow-root was covered with. The next morning he saw it was covered with the talo leaf.

Then the chief said to his people, "Go down and find the place where the talo grew." When the people came to the *kaina* they saw that the talo had grown up and had spread all around the seaside at Fehalaga. They reported what they had seen to the chief. The chief sent a child to fetch a little of the talo. The chief planned to kill Lefutogia because he was angry about the talo leaf that had been used to cover up the arrow-root. The child, however, was told to get some of the talo and bring it to the chief for his feast.



Presently the people said, "Here comes the chief's son to get a little talo." Then Lefutogia saw the son of the chief approaching, and he thought that he came in peace. But the troops came to kill Lefutogia, because they were angry on account of the talo leaf that had been used to cover up the arrow-root.

After Lefutogia had died, killed by the troops, the people dug up his plantation and took the talo to be eaten by the chief. After Lefutogia was dead he sang this song:<sup>17</sup>

Haku talo to fakatatua lima,  
Heiloa e hai koe nae tupu  
Ke utu ha lolo takai aki.  
Haku talo ha mapualagi.  
To fakaheigoa e au ko mata valu.  
Haku talo ha mapualagi.

My talo that I planted with my hands,  
Who could guess that it would grow  
To be taken as oil for the anointing?  
My talo from beyond the horizon.  
I shall name it eight points.  
My talo from beyond the horizon.

Pia (arrow-root), is much used as food. Smith writes, "The pia, or native arrow-root, is very common everywhere. It springs up abundantly wherever the wood has been burnt. There is a variety named Teve which is said to be acrid in taste. The pia enters largely into the foods of the natives. It is very good, but, prepared in their way it has not the bright white appearance of the arrow-root of commerce; it is light purple in color."

The natives relate the following concerning the pia:

The pia is the most poisonous of all plants since all the animals who eat of this bush are sure to die.

When it comes to autumn (*tau-mate-afu*), the men go and dig the roots. One root weighs as much as two pounds. This is the way in which the pia is prepared in order to make it sweet.

The people first strip off the bark of the tavahi tree. [This strip, called the *kahi* and used as a receptacle for the grated pia, is about ten feet long and six feet wide.] Then the people go down to the sea and spread out the *kahi* on the beach at high tide. Then the people weave the *fatanunu* [a basket-like container made from wood] and they line this with *kaka* leaves [strips from the coconut tree]. First they wash the pia and then they place it inside the *fatanunu*. When the pia is inside they wash it again. Then they dip up water with a *piu* [palm leaf container] and pour the water inside the *fatanunu*. Then one woman grates the pia and allows the gratings to fall on the *kahi*. When the *kahi* is full of the gratings it is folded up and taken outside. Then the *kahi* and its contents are washed in the flowing waters of the sea. This is done ten times. This makes the root white like white flour. Finally rain water is brought to rinse off the root, in order to make it sweet.

I did not witness the preparation of pia, the performance (*nupia*) took place after I left the island. I was told that no one is allowed to approach the beach while the arrow-root is being grated, for fear of ruining the final product. The following verses sung at the making of pia indicate that arrow-root had not always been used for food.

Taha e mata ne poko,  
He tuina he keli fua pia.

One of my eyes is blind  
I was wounded because I dug the pia.

<sup>17</sup> It was a common custom for the dead to sing their funeral songs through the medium of an inspired mourner.

Huhu mai e fīfine moe tama;  
 "Koe poko haku mata he ha?"  
 Koe poko haku mata  
 He tau mo Takanonoa  
 I Muifonua, he keli fua pia,  
 He vaha ne nu ai  
 E tau pia he motu  
 Nai he kamataaga.

The women and children asked;  
 "Why is your eye blind?"  
 My eye was put out  
 When I fought with Takanonoa  
 At Muifonua, I was digging the pia  
 At the time when nobody grated pia  
 On the island.  
 It was the beginning [of *nupia*].

Ufi (yams), are represented in Niue by the following varieties:

Ufi-tua  
 Ufi-pia  
 Ufi-kavekave  
 Ufi-kokau  
 Ufi-palai  
 Ufi-kamo

Ufi-tuhala  
 Ufi-lei  
 Ufi-toga  
 Ufi-feteka  
 Ufi-filita  
 Ufi-paka.

Smith states that *ufi-pia* and *ufi-paka* are introduced plants and that the *ufi-lei* and four other varieties grow wild, are bitter to the taste, and must be especially prepared (*tukoi*) before eating.

They cook the fruit of the hoi [wild ufi] for one night. Then they open the oven. Then they strip off the skin and wash the fruit. Then they take it down to the sea and put it on the bark of a tree, as was done to the pia. Then they rinse it with the sea, and break it with their hands. Finally it is rinsed with fresh water. Then it is found to be good and sweet.

The banana (*futi*) is almost as an important a food plant as the talo in Niue. . . . The sweet potato, known more generally as the kumara (*batatas*) is grown in Niue, but they call it timala. The sugarcane (*to*) is common and seems to do well in the more open parts of the island; it is of course a cultivated plant. Its native name is *to*. The people chew the stem, and use the leaves for thatching.

I was told of a wild sugar cane with a smaller stalk than the cultivated variety. The natives were very much surprised when they learned that sugar was made from the sugar cane.

The breadfruit (*mei*), the papaya (*loku*), the orange (*moli*), and the lemon (*tipolu*), are of recent introduction. Many other fruits and vegetables were introduced shortly before my time, but owing to lack of extensive cultivation, are difficult to procure.

The coconut (*niu*) is by far the most important tree in Niue. Smith (15) mentions four species known to the natives: *niu-tea*, with light-colored fruit and stem; *niu-kula*, the fruit of which is dark brown; *niu-hiata*, with yellowish fruit and smaller than the *niu-kula*; and *niu-toga*, a variety introduced in modern times.

He found that the natives had two traditions telling of the introduction of the coconut in comparatively recent times. According to one account the coconuts drifted to the shores, the other tradition states that they were brought by Levei-matagi and Levei-fualolo from the island of Tutuila, and

that the island of Niue received its name from a sentence pronounced by the sacred chief of Tutuila to the men from Niu, "Ko e niu e ma mua." (These coconuts are for you two.) These two stories were related to me in much the same form as recorded by Smith. I received in addition a legend concerning the origin of the coconut which is well known to all students of Polynesian folklore (Cf. 6, p. 77).

There was a fish called Tuna [the eel] which came and married a woman. The woman became pregnant. Then the parents of the woman agreed to kill the Tuna. The Tuna became aware of their plans and spoke thus, "If you three kill me, first cut off my head. Then take my head and plant it in the soft ground, praying in this manner, 'Go down, Oh head of Tuna! Grow up, Oh head of Tuna!' Then long leaves will grow, and large fruit, and many clusters of fruit. But be sure and throw my body into the sea."

It was done after this manner. Then the top grew up; one was red and the other was white. They called it Niu, for the coconut was the same as a man's head."

Smith speaks of the uses made of the coconut in Niue as follows:

The fibrous husk of the nut is called *pulu*, and it serves a good many purposes, the most important of which is in rope or sinnet (*toua*) and string (*aho*) making. . . . From the shell, after being scraped and sometimes polished the ordinary drinking vessels (*kainiu*) are made, and the whole shell is used as a water bottle. . . . The main midrib of the leaf is *palelafe*, and the rib of each separate branch leaf is *kaniu*. The leaf itself is used in thatching, to make baskets (*kato*), mats (*potu*), and in various other ways. The *kaniu* is used in several ways, such as for making brooms, combs, etc. The coco-nut wood is hard and heavy, and when polished, makes handsome walking sticks. From the white pulp of the nut, oil (*puke-lolo*) is made by scraping and pressing, which is used for anointing themselves with, and is often scented (*manogi*).

The cooking utensils of the people of Niue were very simple. The half of a coconut served all the purposes of plates. The people of today possess the usual Polynesian tub, called in Niue *kumete*, in which food is pounded. I failed to note the nature of the pounder, but I saw no stone pounders on the island. An oven was made twice a week, but usually the fish and talo were eaten cold. Banana and ti leaves were wrapped around the fish while it was being cooked, and were kept around the fish until it was eaten.

The oven (*umu*) was made usually in the following fashion. A fire was lighted with small twigs between some stones. When the stones were white hot they took two sticks and pushed the stones into the center, arranging them flatly. The talo was placed on first. Sometimes yams and breadfruit are substituted for the talo. All the food, such as fish, that was to be baked in leaves was placed on top. Then the whole was covered with a thick layer of breadfruit leaves, placed in circular formation and sacks were placed on top of the leaves. It takes two or three hours to cook ordinary food. The top leaves are used time after time, but fresh leaves are used for the purpose of wrapping up the food.



Coconuts are usually eaten raw and grated. Sometimes, however, the soft, spongy parts of young coconuts are baked in the umu.

Green bananas are scraped with sharp pieces of wood, or coconut shell, and baked until hard and dry. All varieties of ripe bananas are baked in their skins. A favorite dish, *tuki futi*, is made of ripe bananas pounded in the *kumete*, and mixed with arrow-root and coconut milk and baked in umu in leaves.

Fish are usually baked whole in the umu. Sometimes they are chopped up and baked with coconut milk and sea water. They are seldom eaten raw.

Another favorite dish, *takihi*, is made of sliced talo, or yams, cooked with coconut milk, sometimes with slices of papaya added. The whole is baked in leaves.

A dish, *faikaiti*, is made from the juice of the ti root, mixed with *pia* and coconut milk and cooked in the umu. A pudding is made by stuffing a hollowed papaya with talo pounded with coconut milk.

Small Niue onions sliced with coconut milk and cooked in cabbage leaf makes a dish called *lu*. This is a modern recipe.

I have tasted all of these foods, and though they are good, the foreign palate soon grows tired of them. Most of the white people residing on Niue refuse to eat native food.

#### ANIMAL FOODS

On account of the scarcity of animal food on Niue in early times, only the rat and the flying fox (a bat) being endemic, it was necessary that the natives catch birds to lend variety to their otherwise scanty diet.

The old methods of bird catching are no longer in use. It is impossible to say what proportion of the people remember them. Two years ago Mr. Morris, wishing to do away with the extensive use of firearms, suggested at the native council (*fono*) that the people revert to their old time methods, but the old men of the island shook their heads at this suggestion and insisted that the former methods had passed entirely from the recollections of the people. Nevertheless, I believe the following accounts to be accurate.

The birds said to have been eaten by the natives in the olden days, which still form articles of diet are: *lupe* (pigeon), *tuaki* (boatswain bird, Phaethon), *taketake* (a species of man-of-war bird), *kulukulu* (dove), *hega* (parrakeet), *miti* (a small brown bird), *kule* or *kale* (porphrio, Gallinula), *gogo*, a blackish sea bird. The following birds are said never to have been used as food: *lulu* (owl), *kalue* (mottled brown bird with long tail feathers), *heahea* (small mottled black bird), *pekapeka* (small bird similar to a swal-



low), *kalagi* (a sea gull), *kiu* (species of plover), and the curlew (*Numenius tahitiensis*. (For a description of the birds of Niue see 15, Vol. XI, p. 100.)

The god of the pigeon was Huanaki, to whom hunters of this bird prayed for success. The sling, the bow and arrow, and the bird net were used for the pigeon. The elastic portion of the sling was made from the roots of the ovava (banyan) tree. Plate X, *A, B* illustrates full sized models of the bow (*kau fana*) and arrows (*fana*). The bow is made of moea wood, its string of the root of the banyan tree. The points of the arrows are made of maile wood, the staffs of fumamala wood (a species of *Tibiscus*). (See fig. 1, *c*.)

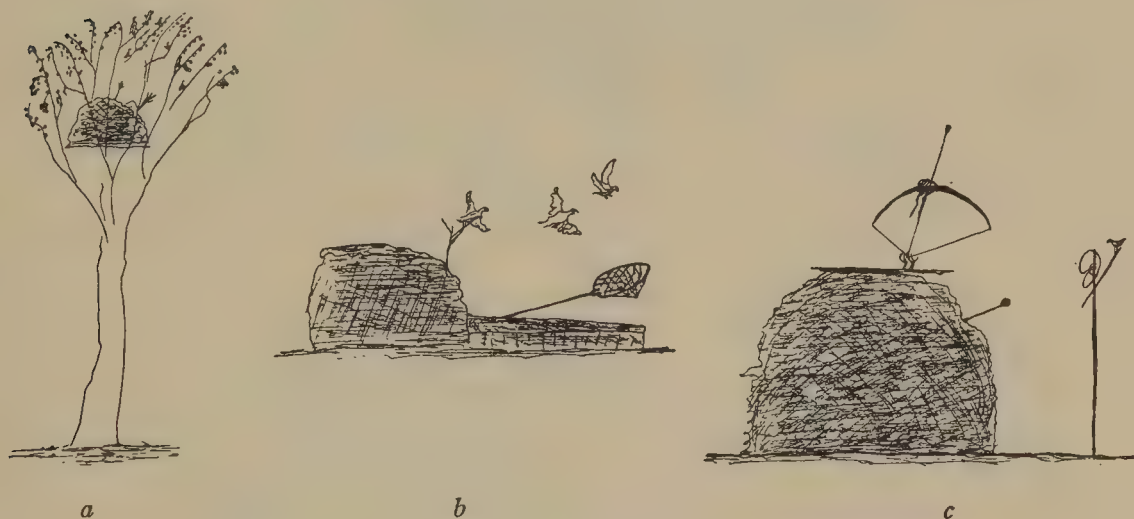


FIGURE 1.—Sketch by a native artist, illustrating bird hunting: *a*, shooting pigeons on mootā tree; *b*, catching pigeons from ambush; *c*, shooting *miti* from ambush. (Redrawn by Marie C. Neal.)

Pigeons are usually hunted in daylight from ambush. Figure 1, *a* represents a hiding place in a mootā tree, in which the *lupe*, the *kulukulu*, and the *miti* are wont to congregate to eat the fruit. A net for catching pigeons is illustrated in Plate X, *C*; the manner of catching in figure 1, *b*. The native name for the net, *kupega*, does not distinguish it from the fish net. The first pigeon caught is tied by its legs to a stick outside the ambush, so that its cries may decoy other pigeons. The hunter, by keeping in the thick bush and imitating the cooing of the pigeon, could sometimes attract the *lupe* and *kulukulu* sufficiently close to be shot with the bow and arrow. The pigeon was also sometimes shot with bow and arrow from the *fata*.

Tihala is the god of the *tuaki*. An account of the manner of catching this bird is given by a native as follows:

If a man sees a tuaki entering above in a tree, he knows that it is for the purpose of giving birth to its young. So the man makes a ladder in order to go up and seize the tuaki. When the man sees that there are only young birds there and the mother is not at home, for the mother has gone down to the sea to dive for fish and bring them home for the purpose of feeding her young, he binds all of their mouths and ties them firmly [to the nest]. Then the man leaves the nest and goes away. Presently the parent of the young birds returns with fish in her mouth, and she gives these to her young ones to eat. But the mother remains to watch [kitekite] for the young birds are not able to eat the fish. The man had tied up all their mouths.

After a few days have past the man returns to visit the tuaki whose mouths he has bound up. He ascends to the top of the tree where the nest of the tuaki is located. There he finds the tuaki. He finds the mother tuaki, and the father tuaki, and all the young tuaki. The man gathers up all the tuaki that he has found, and then he kills them and cooks them in the oven as food.

The *gogo*, another fish eating bird, like the *tuaki* was supposed to be very greedy. The following is one of the many songs composed about it.

Fia kai toka fakaoti,  
To hifo ke pala haku na hui,  
Fia kai toka fakaoti.  
To moli foki a gogo  
Hifo uku ika mai he moana

Ke fagai aki hana tama,  
To hake ke koli fakaagi agi.

Fia kai toka fakaoti.  
To moli foki a Tuaki  
Hifo uku ika mai he moana  
Ke fagai aki hana tama.  
Fia kai toka fakaoti.

My appetite will last forever,  
When I go down to wet my feet,  
My appetite will last forever.  
It was true about the *gogo* bird  
That went down to the sea and dove  
for fish  
In order to feed her children  
Then she ascended into the air and  
danced in the sky.  
My appetite will last forever.  
It was also true that the *tuaki*  
Went down to the sea and dove for fish  
In order to feed her children.  
My appetite will last forever.

The *gogo* was caught with the bird nets on the *fata* in the tops of trees. It was always hunted in the evening, as this was the time that it came home from fishing in the sea.

Nukai describes the *hega* as

A small bird with a very fat body. The people are able to make a very good soup out of it. [I think soup making is modern.] It is a light green animal colored like the dark waters, its feathers in front are green. There are many feathers in the breast, and the center ones are very red. Its head is very green and its neck is very red. It has a curved beak and its feet are very red. Its claws are sharp. It eats coconut blossoms and various other blossoms, and steals fruit and sweets from the people.

Nukai made a drawing (fig. 2), illustrating the manner in which the *hega* was snared. "This," Nukai writes, "is a coconut tree. It bears fruit and also blossoms. The people leave snares made of sennit around the blossoms. Then the *hega* come and drink the juice of the blossoms. When they stick their heads through the snares these become taut. After the necks of the

*hega* have become trapped the men climb up and take down the birds." The snare is called *hele* (Pl. X, E).

The *miti* formerly were shot with the bow and arrow from ambush. Food was placed on a post to attract the birds, which were shot with the



FIGURE 2.—Sketch by a native artist showing method of snaring *hega* on coconut trees. (Redrawn by Marie C. Neal.)

bow and arrow when they came to eat. In later times, after the introduction of the papaya (*fua loco*) a better scheme was devised.

The people prepare some papaya and snares from the coconut twigs. Then they slice the fruit in two, and when it is ready they attach it to a small branch of the *umamala* tree. They take this and place it in a stony hole in the bush. Six or eight snares are placed inside of the papaya. Then the people hide in the bush. The little black birds, the *miti*, come and eat, stretching down their heads into the fruit. Then the snares run tight and the necks of the birds are caught. The people come and take the birds, pluck, cook, and entirely devour them. As many as fifty birds are sometimes caught in this manner.

Hunters of the *kule* prayed to the god *Atelapa*. According to native account this is the most shy of all birds. There is no scheme that can be used to catch it. "The people prepare a torch and go carefully in the night, they keep the torch low because the bird is asleep."

The *pekapeka* lives in caves. It was believed that the spirits of the dead entered into these birds, which account for their being tapu as an article of food. One story relates that children caught the *pekapeka* in caves, but the account does not state that this was done to obtain food. There is a tradition that the *pekapeka* acquired its black color by hiding in the caves.

The pigeon was the only bird that the people of Niue ever domesticated, this bird was used, as in Samoa, for flying as a sport. Numerous attempts must have been made, however, to raise other birds in captivity. One story is on record concerning the attempt of a man to keep the pigeon in captivity.

A man made a journey in order to work for his food at a distant place. When his work was finished he turned to go back to his land. He went down to the sea and when he arrived at the path he met with a *tuaki*, which was flapping its wings and trying to get out of the hole in which it was entangled. The man put his load down, and rushing forward he secured the bird. The man rejoiced greatly because he had secured the gift for nothing. He thought that a god had presented him with the gift. The man brought the bird to his home by the sea. When he arrived at his house he entered, and, closing all the screens [of coconut leaves] he let the bird



FIGURE 3.—Sketch by a native artist illustrating method of catching the flying fox: *a*, platform in a kafika tree; *b*, native ladder (*papahi*) used in ascending a tree. (Redrawn by Marie C. Neal.)

loose. The bird would not fly, however, and the man wrongly thought [*piko*] that the bird could not fly. So he went outside and secured a string. He brought back the string and tied the mouth of the bird with it so that it would not be able to bite. After the mouth of the bird was secured the man threw the bird towards a rooster, hoping that the two would fight. But the bird flew upwards and escaped towards the



sea. At this the man cried because his bird had flown away, and very sadly he looked all around to see if by chance the bird had fallen to the ground. But the bird was far aloft, and it called down to the man "Kolokete, Kolokete." That was its song.

The god of the *peka* (flying fox) was Fitihali'vao. In olden days permanent platforms, *fata*, dedicated to various gods, were built upon the tops of *kafika* trees, as high as 150 feet from the ground, which were reached by means of native ladders (*papahi*) (fig. 3). The possibility of the hunter's slipping and falling from these platforms gave the hunt an atmosphere of danger.

Late in the afternoon or in the early morning the native would go to his *fata* and place a snare, which almost surely a few hours later brought a *peka* which was used as a decoy. Attracted by the animal's cry, other *peka* came near enough to be caught in a net. The natives say that one night's catch amounted to as many as fifty, seventy, and even a hundred and fifty. An expert, Takopo of Alofi, caught two hundred in one night.

#### COMBATING FAMINE

Niue has always been subject to periodic famine, due to the frequency of long droughts. During these periods the people prepared special foods. My informant stated:

When there begins to grow a famine on the island they call it *to-mui-mui-tuai e motu* (almost a famine on the island). Then the families plan to thoroughly bake a ti oven so that they may eat when hungry. These are the things that they cook in the oven. The ti root, the kape talo, the roots of the luku fern, and the tau. The tau is the root of the banana tree, and its name is *tefito*. The best of these foods were the ti and kape. The people could not be careless with this oven. If they were careless the oven would burst and everything would be spoiled. This oven has to be cooked two nights before it is opened. This way of making food is very tedious.

The natives are very fond of the juice from the ti tree (*Cordyline terminalis*), and ovens are made for it in times of plenty as well as in times of famine. My wife and I witnessed the baking of this oven at Alofi. A large hole, about thirty feet in circumference, was first dug at the upper terrace in the red earth region. The ti root was collected in fresh baskets made of woven coconut leaves. Then a big fire was made in the hole, and the stones made white hot. The baskets of ti root were then piled on, and covered with basket after basket of the red earth dug from the hole. Yam leaves were placed on top. Finally enough earth was placed in the hole to entirely fill it up.

In the olden times the making of a ti oven was an important event, and

prayers had to first be offered at the temple grounds. This is an example of a ti oven prayer:

Kai haga atu kehe tau gutu  
Kai niu he Ululauta, Ipopo!

Kai haga atu kehe tau gutu  
Kai ika he fāhi lalo, Ipopo!

Kai haga atu kehe tau gutu  
Kai pia he Oneonepata, Ipopo!

Kai haga atu kehe tau gutu  
Kai pia he Muifonua, Ipopo!

Eat and look at the mouths  
That are eating coconuts at Ululauta,  
Ipopo!

Eat and look at the mouths  
That are eating fish on the western side,  
Ipopo!

Eat and look at the mouths  
That are eating arrow-root at Oneone-  
pata, Ipopo!

Eat and look at the mouths  
That are eating arrow-root at Muifonua,  
Ipopo!

The following stories illustrate the hardships that the people suffered in times of famine.

There developed a famine on the island, it was a very severe famine. But there was a certain man, by the name of Poitoa, who had plenty to eat. He had talo, sugar cane, bananas, and various other things to eat. All these he had reserved for himself. Then he went suddenly and pulled up his talo. He placed the talo by the foot of a big tree, and, resting there, he sang this song,

Haku toki ha tapakau matagi,  
Ne hoholo ne fano he lagi.  
Kaututu aki ko e hoge fiua ho gutu.

Folo tagata kakau he maka, haku toki.

(Kalakala malie haku toki.)

My adz has the wings of the winds,  
Floating it came from the sky.  
Conquered is thus the famine which  
gnaws at your mouths.

Let men swallow the sticks and stones  
from my hatchet.

(The edges of my axe are good.)

After the man had sung this song he started eating his food; then this was all gone in a few days and he commenced to be famished. He finally resorted to washing wild yam (*tuhoi*), but it was of no use. He dug pia, but this also was no use. As time passed the man shrank to skin and bones. He ended his search for food by digging hoi and pia and preparing them together.

The man withstood the famine until there was plenty of water and things to eat on the island. But the proud man had suffered quite sufficiently in the meantime.

The second story illustrates more forcibly the privations of the people in times of famine:

There was a famine on the island and all the food disappeared. The people on the eastern side of the island knew that the *tefito* [root of banana tree] grew at Mataaho [Tuapa], and that there were banana trees there. The *kaina* belonged to a man called Tafaki. Then all the people of the eastern side came down; the husbands, the wives and the children. They all assembled together and fenced the *kaina* with sticks. The people lived inside of the fence and ate banana roots.

When Tafaki heard that those people had taken his *kaina* he sent word to his *kau* [troops] that they should go and kill all of the people that were inside the fence. The troops went and killed all the people inside of the fence, but they spared the little babies. After the slaughter the babies crawled about and sucked the milk from the breasts of their dead mothers; then they also perished.

## BARTER AND EXCHANGE

The people of Niue are often accused of being extremely commercial and altogether lacking in that spirit of hospitality and generosity which is thought to be characteristic of the natives of Samoa. This condemnation was recently published by a white acquaintance of mine who came over from Samoa to take up an official position in Niue. While I am forced to admit that certain villages of Niue are far better mannered than others, yet I venture upon the opinion that a man who was equally well acquainted with Samoa and Niue would find but little difference in the manners of the two places.

As the Niueans were unacquainted with any real money standard, they did not expect to receive immediate compensation for all services rendered to the white men who came to the island. It is related that a ship came to the island during the period preceding the missionary rule, and anchored off Alofi. When it came to the time for departing the captain found that the anchor was stuck on the ocean bottom. He then called upon the natives for aid, and finally the strong man of the island, Fatatoa, succeeded in raising the anchor. My informant ended his story as follows, "The captain of the ship did not pay Fatatoa anything, for great was the stupidity (*goagoa*) of the people of Niue in the early times!" At the present day the natives would have carefully stipulated a price beforehand, no doubt an exorbitant one, before they laid their hands on the anchor. If, however, the captain had been a personal friend they would have performed the service for nothing. It would then have been a *fakalofa* (a gift or service given in friendship). A return *fakalofa* would have been expected, but not asked for.

The *fakalofa* system has always existed on Niue except where it has been replaced by the bargaining methods of the trader. It differs from the commercial system of white man in one important respect, that is, in the spirit of the transaction. The white man attempts to get more than he receives, while the native attempts to give more than he receives, not as philanthropy, however, but in the spirit of ostentation. The potlatch system of the American Indians has many points of similarity, though far more systematic in tenor and wasteful in method.

The people of Niue were never actually communistic. No able bodied adult expected to receive a *fakalofa* without making an adequate return. At the same time nobody could make a catch of fish or harvest his *talo*



without giving his relatives a share, in the nature of a *fakalofa*. So deeply ingrained is this system in the minds of the natives, that they never speak about it to the stranger. He is supposed to know and to act accordingly. There are several amusing stories, however, concerning trouble resulting from greed or carelessness.

Hiligutu was a clever man at making war clubs. So Malopala had Hiligutu make him a club. When Malopala received the club he sent Hiligutu a *takihi* (talo pudding) as a *fakalofa*. Hiligutu opened up the *takihi* and found it to be full of flies. He immediately threw the *takihi* into the bush. The two men then met and commenced abusing one another. They finally arranged a day for single combat. Malopala was wounded by a spear thrust, and a long drawn out war followed between the two families.

If a man were a famous *toa*, people had to be especially careful concerning the nature of the *fakalofa* which they presented.

Talamahina was a very strong *toa* who lived in Vavau, Paluki. Once he heard that the people of Alofi had gone down to catch fish at Tufonua. So he went down to the landing place in order to obtain his share. The people came back with a great haul of fish, and Talamahina rejoiced at the prospects of obtaining a fine present. The leaders of the fishing fleet gave him some fish. One of the fish was a *fagamea*. This was a very large fish but it was not considered very good eating. Talamahina was so furious at the insult that he seized hold of the fish by the tail, and used it as a walking stick (*tokotoko*) as he went up the road to the top of the cliffs to his dwelling place. When he arrived at his *kaina* the fish was pretty well worn out by hard usage, and Talamahina threw the tail into the bush. Talamahina then called together his troops, and he explained to them that he had been given a poor fish, and not one with "an honorable name." He bade them prepare the fleet that they might break down the houses of the fish eaters.

Should a whale be stranded on the shore, it was considered proper that every person in the vicinity should have a portion. Unfortunately the people did not always act in accordance with their own views of propriety. During the times of early Christianity a whale was stranded off of Avatele.

The townspeople were all at church at the time, although it was Monday. Two men from Fatiau came down to the beach. They saw the whale, and hurriedly spread the report of the find to their own village. The people from the small village of Fatiau then came down and divided the whale between them. After the church was over, all the people of Avatele and Tamakautoga flocked to the beach. Nothing remained of the whale excepting the tail, around which the shark were playing. The people of Fatiau were greedy and refused to give up any of their spoils to the people of the neighboring villages.

Taulaga was an Avatele man. He begged Futogia of Fatiau for a piece of the whale, but Futogia was greedy and he refused to give up any of his share. Then Taulaga made a deceiving plan (*fakavai*). "Give me a piece of the fish," he said, "then you come over to my *kaina* and I will give you some clothing to pay you for it." Taulaga received the fish which he at once proceeded to eat. Afterwards Futogia visited Taulaga in order to receive his *fakalofa*. Futogia stayed around the house all day and gossiped. Taulaga made no mention of the clothing, and the visit was made in vain. It was in this manner that Taulaga took revenge on Futogia for his greediness.



The people also take great delight in telling how another Fatiau man, Haitaue, came to grief through his greediness.

Haitaue had chipped off many pieces of the fish and had loaded them up to the bushy part of the cliffs as a place of concealment. After all the people had scattered he went up cautiously to visit the portion that he had loaded in the bush. "Oi! Where were the many pieces of fish that he had carried up and hidden in the cache?" The place was empty; not a single piece remained. When Haitaue had thrown down the pieces of fish they had fallen into a chasm and were lost to sight. Even the head of the whale had gone down to the bottom of the chasm and was irretrievably lost. Haitaue suffered great anguish because of his loss, and he almost went out of his mind (*fakaatu kehe*). Thus he was repaid for his former selfish rejoicing.

The people of the island made songs taunting the village of Fatiau, and the story about the whale has never been forgotten. It is in this manner that selfish people are punished on the island of Niue.

Taunting songs were also made use of within the family for the purpose of disciplining a delinquent member. Thus Toheiki was a *nomaea* in the family of the *toa* Pineki II. That is to say he married a woman belonging to Pineki's family, and had then gone to live in her house. Since Toheiki was a *nomaea* he was expected to do his share towards the support of the Pineki family. When Pineki saw that the *nomaea* was not doing his share of the work, he composed this song,

Tala age la kia pia ti lamalamati ko a Toheiki,	You go tell the arrowroot to spy on Toheiki,
Ne nofo ti kai pia teao.	He stays home and eats arrowroot for nothing (doing no work).
Nakai velo ai taha tao, nakai liti ai taha maka,	He throws no spears, he throws no stones,
Ke totou aki e nomaea.	He is a <i>nomaea</i> who does not aid,
Ka e hā ka e kai pia ai.	All right, you go and eat arrowroot!

The feelings of Toheiki were very much hurt by this song, and for a time Pineki had to keep a careful watch lest he be killed. Finally Pineki prepared a large eight tier feast at Toto. Toheiki came to the feast, and the two men made up their quarrel.

The giving of *fakalofa* was carried on in a systematic manner by the giving of feasts. Thus if a man went to visit his relatives at a foreign village, soon after his arrival, a feast and dance would be given in his honor, after which speeches were made. These speeches might last for several hours. The host and his relatives first made certain stock complimentary remarks concerning their guest and then enumerated the list of gifts that they were about to make. The guest and his relatives in a response of a similar nature included an enumeration of their return presents. Each party spoke slightly of its own presents, and praised the gifts about to be received, each however trying to outdo the other in the value of the

presents given. If either party were miserly in the exchange of gifts it laid itself open to having mocking songs composed about its actions.

I have taken part in many of these welcoming feasts. When I visited a village I never arranged to pay for anything. At the end of my stay there was always a feast and dance and the customary exchange of gifts. It is ridiculous to say that the people of Niue are not hospitable. My wife and I were constantly being urged to visit the different villages.

## GAMES AND SPORTS

The favorite sport (*takalo*) of the people, in the olden days, was *tika* throwing, an amusement common throughout Polynesia. The *tika* is a form of dart, with a blunted head made from *kafika* wood. The object of the game was to see who could throw the *tika* the farthest. It was thrown so as to glide along the smooth turf, or *male*. The player held the *tika* even with the shoulder, at acute angle with the body, pointing downward, with one finger placed over the end of the staff. Before throwing, the contestant was allowed to take a running start up to a line agreed upon. The older people of Niue no longer indulge in this game, but the children play with the *tika* as a toy.

Falani writes, "When the people played at *tatika*, each man would curse all the others upon the field. He would pray, 'Oh Tagaloa of the skies, turn aside the other *tika*.' When a man won the game the people would all go and sit around the place where the victor's *tika* had stopped. Then the victor would be very proud, and he would look down on the other *tika* and tell the people to throw them in the cave at Lageiki."

There is a story which illustrates the typical conditions under which the game of *tatika* was played.

Fiaiki was a Tafti man who had cleared a *male* for the game of *tatika*. Puleiki was a man who lived at Petoki, a place on the east side near Pofitu.

One day Puleiki said to his relatives, "Let us go up and throw the *tika* at the *male* of Fiaiki." So they at once arrived at the *male* in order to engage in the game of *tatika*. When Puleiki had placed himself at the end of the *male*, he called upon one of his relatives, Fakaatea by name, to throw the first *tika*. But the haft of the *tika* went only two fathoms and a bit over. Fakaatea threw again, but the *tika* did not jump (*hopo*) well, and it did not go very far.

Suddenly a black *tika* went clear to the end of the *male*. Puleiki saw that it was his *tika* which had come first, and he called out, "*Tupua kiu mo tupua lagi, punutia male, Tagaloa.*" (Oh god of the plover and god in the sky, come down to the *male*, Tagaloa.)

At this Fiaiki and his troops prepared to kill Puleiki. Then Puleiki became very much frightened (*hopo e ate*, his heart jumped) and he left the *male*. He ran to his home and stayed there.

Diving contests (*uku*) were frequently indulged in in Niue. The contest might be held between two individuals as a test of superiority, or it might be held between the two groups from opposite ends of the island.

There were two men who disputed, Malua was the one and Puatau was the other. Malua said to Puatau, "Your stomach is very large." So they went down to

the sea in order to dive from the coral and prove which of the two was right in the contention. Malua dove first. He went down halfway to the bottom and then he ascended again to the surface. Puatau asked him, "Did you not touch the bottom?" But Malua replied, "I came up because my teeth fell out." Then it was Puatau's turn to dive. He went right down and lay in the depths of the sea. After this he broke off some coral and, bringing it to the surface, he showed it to Malua, who then knew that he was weak (*lolelole*). But Puatau grew up to be a *toa* and obtained lots of honor (*lilifu*). It is indeed true, he was one of the *toa* of this island of Niue.

There exists a very well known story on Niue concerning a diving contest between Motu and Tafiiti.

Tulitoga and Tagaloahe kula were two Tafiiti men. They were the children of the *iki* Foufou of Avatele. They went up once to make kava to the gods (*faikava atua*) at Fatuana, then they went to bathe at Mataloko. There they found some people from Motu in swimming.

Now, when leaving a pool it was the custom of the people to dive to the bottom and see who would be first. A man was just in the act of diving when the Motu people noticed that there were two men from Tafiiti looking on. As soon as they became aware who these two men were they disliked them (*fakavihia*), and made fun of them (*va*), calling out, "Dive Tafiiti, and don't be slow about it." The two men dove at once in order that they should not be killed by their enemies. They did not come up again to the surface, but swam the length of the pool under the water and only rose to the surface when they were out in the ocean. Then they followed the sea down to Avaiki. This is the song they sang,

Uku fakateki, uku fakalele, neke tupu	Dive carefully, dive quickly, lest we get
e loma na taua,	into trouble,
Uku tugi, ti fa mafuta.	Dive cleverly, and then we will be sure
	to rise again.

The people of Niue also organized running races and canoe races as tests of superiority and Smith mentions the fact that they indulged in tug of war contests and surf riding (*fakatu-peau*). Surf riding was never indulged in to the same extent as in Hawaii and riding standing was not practised. The children of the present day are fond of walking on stilts (*tu-te-keka*). Although stilt walking was a common Polynesian sport, I was informed that it was not done in Niue until recent times. Wrestling was formerly indulged in, especially at the times of feasts, but boxing was apparently unknown. The game of hide-and-go-seek enters into several of the animal fables of the people, but I do not believe that the adult natives ever enjoyed such an undignified pastime. I could gather no information in Niue concerning checkers, bowling, cats cradle, and other well known Polynesian games, and I believe that they were not practiced on the island. The spinning of tops, however, was known in the olden times. After Mutalau had invaded the island from Tonga, he sat down and gossiped with the *iki*, Tihamau. "While the two gossiped they spun (*vili*) the stick of Mutalau on top of a stone." (See p. 26.) According to this text, top spinning was imported from Tonga.



The chiefs of Niue were very fond of pigeon snaring (*heu-manu*) and pigeon flying. I was told that the custom is not very ancient, and that it was copied from the Samoans. The Niueans selected a good pigeon, pierced one of its eyes, then tied one of its legs with a long cord and allowed it to fly up into the air. The half-blinded pigeon flew in circles, which attracted the pigeons from the bush and they came and flew around it. The decoy pigeon was then lowered, and the wild pigeons also descending were caught in the hand nets.

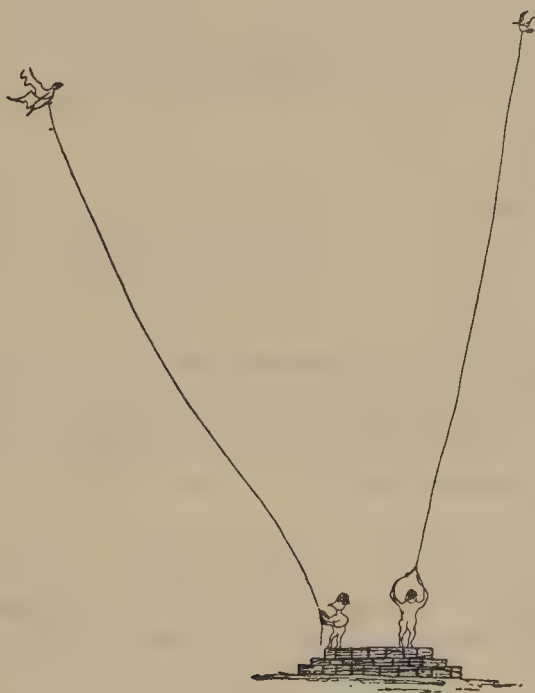


FIGURE 4.—Sketch by a native artist illustrating pigeon-flying. (Redrawn by Marie C. Neal.)

It appears from a native drawing (fig. 4) that special platforms of rocks were erected for the sport. The object of the game was to see whose pigeon would fly the highest. A pigeon that performed well became known on the island as a highly valued possession. It also would be praised in songs, such as the following:

Haku lupe ti lele mitaki,  
Kua hake tatai moe tau fetu he lagi,  
Haku lupe ti lele mitaki.  
Kapa e uhila he lagi fakatai aki lele  
haku lupe.  
Haku lupe ti lele mitaki.

My pigeon flies well,  
It ascends to the stars of the sky,  
My pigeon flies well.  
My pigeon flies like the lightning flashes  
in the sky,  
My pigeon flies well.

Two men would sometimes dispute as to their respective powers, and then settle the argument by a friendly contest. Sometimes this form of contest would assume a ridiculous form.

Fehihi and Fenea once disputed with each other. Fehihi lived at Namoui, Fenea at Aliutu. Their test was to light a fire on top of some stones and to sit on it without getting burned. However, they lighted their fires after different manners. Fehihi lit his fire on top of a stone at Namoui and sat on the fire. He died from his burns. But Fenea lit his fire on the stones at Aliutu and then crawled inside of the stones and hid himself while the fire was burning. The man of Namoui died because he had been foolish.

There is a rather rough game called *pa pa teliga*, which is still played. The object apparently is to down the opponent by the ears. Four or more people play the game sitting in a circle. They first sing out continuously the following instructions,

Pa, pa teliga,uku he teliga ē,

Clap, clap, and put your hands on your ears,

Pa, pa teliga,uku he teliga ē.

Clap, clap, and put your hands on your ears.

The players interlace arms, taking strong hold on the bottom of their ears. Then by leaning backwards, they attempt to force their opponent either to tug away at his ears, or else to yield to circumstances and fall back on the ground "like the bananas falling into the sea." In the meanwhile they joined in singing,

Foaki mai e tau kala pule  
Ke o age ke kai e tau fua futi momoho,  
Ne oti he kai he tau kala pule,

The sea shells have sent for us  
To come and eat the ripe bananas,  
Lest the sea shells themselves eat them  
all,

Moe mokulu ki tahi.  
Tamaleu ē ē ē!

As they fall down into the sea.  
Off they fall!

## FESTIVALS

Dances have great economic and social importance in Niue. Every feast was accompanied by dancing of some form or other.

There were four forms of dancing in the olden days: the *tame*, dancing and singing done in the daytime upon the occasion of feasts; the *tafeauhi*, dancing and singing done at night around a fire, a licentious dance; the *takalo*, war dance, and the killing of Limaau, a dramatic dance, in which the effigy of a god was killed by spears, then the dead body mourned over.

## THE TAME

Upon the occasion of all great feasts in the olden days a *tame* was held. The following is an account given me by Uea:

This dance was very difficult to give, and there were few of them. It was necessary that a man have a good voice, that [he be chosen] to anoint the people who dance. These were the words which he used when he anointed the dancers, "*Niu mataola, Niu mataulaula, ho inu e e e... Monu.*" [Coconut grow well, coconut grow well, drink e e, be blessed.] After this they pierced the coconuts right away.

This was the name of the *me*; it was called the *me fa* (four). It was a *me* for both men and women. It was called the *me fa* because there were four rows of men and four rows of women.

The man who was to anoint the *me* stood in the middle of the *me*. Four men stood by his side, two men at his right and two men at his left. The first man at the right was called the *to me* [he looked after the dancing] and the other was called the *luanu me* [he helped the leader, the anointer, in conducting the singing]. The name of the first man at the left side [of the leader] was *haka o me* [he conducted the dancing rehearsals before the *me*]. The name of the second man was the *manoginogi me* [he was the assistant teacher at the rehearsals]. All these men had the best voices, and they were the best dancers.

The anointer started to dance first; when he became tired he nodded his head to the *to me* to take his place; when this one became tired he nodded his head to the *luanu me*; when this one became tired he nodded his head to the *haka o me*, and when this one became out of breath he nodded his head to the *manoginogi me*. When this last man became tired he yielded his place to the [refreshed] anointer (*koukou me*). The people always acted in this order.

After this part of the *me* was over, two men stood at opposite ends of the dancers. Both of these men were called the *tipa me*; they both were good singers. These are the words that they called to the *me*. The man who stood at the head of the *me* called out, "*Tipatipa, tipatipa fakahale e iki.*" [*Tipatipa, tipatipa*, honor the chief.] Then man at the foot of the *me* called back, "*Tipo oe, tipo oe, Tipo o o o.*" After these two men became tired, others took their place, and so on until the *me* was finished.

This was called the *me fa*, and was given, for example, by a man when his child was circumcised. If the giver was of low position (*tagata fakateaga*), he simply

gave a one row *me*. The parents-in-law stayed in front of the *me* when it was held. It was both a woman's *me* and a man's *me*. The women were lined up on one side and the men on the other. It was tapu for a low man or woman to dance in front of the *me*. In the rear of the *me* nothing unseemly (*fakalialia*) was done, as in the *tafeauhi*, which was given at night. In this they did evil things. But *toa* and men of pride did not act that way.

Of course the people did not sing in former times, but rather chanted as in the Hawaiian *mele*. Also they did not actually dance, as they do now in Samoan fashion, but revolved their bodies and moved their feet and body in a rhythmic swaying fashion, accompanied by the swaying of their arms.

The following is a sample of the songs:

Tipa, tipa aio he katiale  
Koli manu folau.

Kua lifa e manu folau  
Haloa kili ki haloa he lagi.  
Hale au kua lele,  
Hale au kua lele.  
Tipa, tipa, aio he katiale.

Tipa, tipa, the branch sways like the  
Dance of the *manu folau* [the storm  
bird].

When the flock of birds sway,  
Swaying, swaying in the sky,  
I sway like the birds,  
I sway like the birds,  
Tipa, tipa, the branch sways.

At the request of my friend Hipa the people of Hikutavake gave two of the old fashioned dances that I might record them. One of the dances was in the nature of an ancient game (Pl. XIII, *A*, *B*). The people joined hands and danced around in a ring. Inside this ring one man was held as if under guard. He was dressed in imitation of a rat, his face smeared with white paint, and an old style *poliki*, formerly worn by *toa*, on his head. Another man was stationed outside the ring, who, in imitation of an owl, tried to break through and capture his prey. A song appropriate to the incident was chanted, and the people in the ring kept dancing around and warding off the attempts of the owl. Finally the owl made his way through, and, pouncing upon the rat, laid him flat on the ground. The rat gave one final despairing squeak, and pretended to expire.

The manner of dancing and singing have changed entirely since the olden days. Formerly, in the singing, one person would start off (*uhu*), then the others would join in. All the songs (*lologo*) were chanted, or, as Smith describes them, sung in a monotonous minor key, nowadays the Samoan fashion is followed out, even to the rendering of the songs in the Samoan language. At the *tame*, one contingent of singers comes up at a time, and sitting down cross legged (*fakatoga*, in foreign fashion) in two rows facing each other, start to sing. One of the number starts the song, followed by the others, who sway their bodies and arms in the singing. The songs have all been composed recently by a person apt at this sort of thing, the person still retaining the title of *koukou me*, the anointer of the



me. Most of the songs sung today concern current events, although once in a while an old song is thrown in—probably for my benefit. The singing is a bit harsh compared to the Samoan.

A feast and dance given at my house in Alofi is illustrated in Plate XII, C.

The dancing and singing is done nowadays to the music of the tin can and the accordion. Formerly the hollowed out log drum (*nafa*) and the nose flute (*kofe*) were used (p.94).

#### THE TAFEAUHI

I could get little information about the *tafeauhi*, as was only natural. With New Zealand officials in charge of the island it is impossible to have one performed at the present time. One man writes, "The people went out and gathered fire wood for the lime oven; this would burn for two or three days before it died out. As soon as the fire flared up the people assembled together to do the dance and to sing songs. Those, however, who did not know how to dance waited until the fire went out, and then they danced in the dark." There were, as I understand, quite other reasons for this dancing in the dark, but my informant did not wish the people of his island to be poorly thought of, so he adds, "They danced in the dark because they were ashamed of not knowing how to dance."

I was told that these dances lasted from dark until daybreak. There were two people who beat upon the drum. The people sang songs, called out, and did everything else in their power to make the occasion a noisy one. The performers wore little if any costume for the occasion, and were in the habit of going off in pairs to the darkness outside of the firelight. It was denied that any form of incest was committed on the occasion, and it was also said that *toa* and men of pride took no part in these dances. It must be remembered, however, that the men who gave me this information were well acquainted with the moral code of the white people.

The dance itself and the songs sung were quite simple and innocent. Thus,

Tunapao he tunapao,  
Ui age ko Hina tautafaga  
Ka oi he holoholoi he holo.

Dance around, and dance around,  
Call out to Hina to come down  
And join in with us.

Then at midnight they beat the drum, calling out "*Katiale a io, tialeale a io!*" Finally when daylight approached they spread out their arms and flew around like *peka*, singing,

He peka ne ga mai i Uea,  
He peka ne ga mai i Hamoa,

The peka flew around at Uea,  
The peka flew around at Hamoa,

Ka peka le tu, ka peka le kai,  
 Kau haia lelo kai,  
 Peka au ha lele.

The peka flew around to find food,  
 Then they flew around again to eat,  
 Now I fly like the peka.

While this last verse was being sung, the dancers flapped their arms in imitation of the wings of the flying fox.

The following song used at the Tafeauhi, is especially symphonious in the original text.

Ka fiti niu e, ka fiti molete,  
 Ka fiti niu e, ka fiti molete,  
 He matala he toūme.  
 Tagitagi lulu ē,  
 Tagitagi lulu ē,  
 O, ko Hiligutu haia ne  
 Fakafolau e lautolu.

Kua pa tuai e fatu i moana.

Ti moui, ti pe hake ai ki uta.  
 Ti moui ai a ia ato mate fakamui.

The coconut tree is getting ripe,  
 The coconut tree is getting ripe,  
 Its blossoms are opening up.  
 The owl cries lulu ē,  
 The owl cries lulu ē.  
 O, that man Hiligutu,  
 They set his body adrift in a canoe,  
 but he still lived

Because the sea had closed up his stomach.

So he lived and drifted up to the shore,  
 Then he lived until he finally died.

No specified times were given me for the performance of the *tafeauhi*. I was told that it could take place any time in the year.

### THE TAKALO

The *takalo* was the war dance of Niue, performed before going into battle and on many other occasions, partly for training. Both men and women took part, but probably in ancient times, chiefly the men. A *takalo* was witnessed in 1901 by Mr. Seddon, Prime Minister of New Zealand, who writes:

Attired in turbans and waist-mats, armed with the peculiar long paddle-shaped club, these warriors performed their antics of defiance. They crouched low and advanced, thrust with the spear end of the club, swung its butt end, retreated, crouched, and sprang again, uttering their war cries, and behaving as if possessed.

John Williams (15, Vol. VII, p. 17) describes the grand finale of an old time *takalo*:

Finally he [a warrior] concluded this exhibition by distorting his features most horribly in extending his mouth, gnashing his teeth, and forcing his eyes almost out of their sockets. Then he ended by thrusting the whole of his long grey beard into his mouth and gnawing it with the most savage vengeance. During the whole of this performance he kept up a long and continuous howl.

In the *takalo* as seen by me, not only were most of the natives clean shaven, but they were also far too self-conscious to do justice to this native dance. The following are examples of the songs sung by the warriors doing the *takalo*:

Tete! koe haku akau ha ē!  
 Ke tau ke hake ke pu  
 I lagi, to hifo ke pu  
 Ki lalofonua, to hifo  
 Ke pu i Toga.  
 Tete! takalo tau, takalo  
 Vale, ti hopo ni ki luga  
 Moe fakaeteete fano.

Tete! This is my club!  
 I will fight with it and jump up into  
 The skies, then go down and fall upon  
 The earth, then go and jump to Tonga.  
 Tete! Do the war dance, do it with  
 anger,  
 Leap high in the air and run hither and  
 thither.

An old story concerning the wars of Mohelagi relates that one of Mohelagi's followers became disgusted at the cowardice of his fellow warriors, and determined to punish them by shamming death. So after the battle he lay on the ground as if dead. His fellows then made up a stretcher of two poles and tapa cloth and carried the supposedly dead warrior up to Mutalau, but when they arrived, Tapatuetoa, the warrior, suddenly seizing a war club, sprang to his feet and did the *takalo*, much to the chagrin of his fatigued bearers. This was his song,

Hahaia, hahaia, haku feua hateia, haku  
 feua hateia,  
 Kua fulufuluola koa, kua fulufuluola  
 koa,  
 Nekua maineine noa ni, kua maineine  
 noa ni.

There, there, this is my business, this  
 is my business,  
 How very beautiful it is, How very  
 beautiful it is,  
 It is very ticklish, it is very ticklish.

#### THE KILLING OF LAMAUA

A dramatic dance evidently of very ancient origin has been preformed in Niue three times in modern times. In this, the god Limaua is presumably killed by thrown spears, and then mourned. The following is a native description of the God Limaua (Two-hands).

He lived in the sea, and he paddled with his right hand and with his left, and spoke thus with his mouth, "Ue! Ue! Beware! Beware!" Then he waved his hands backwards in order to make the currents flow backwards in the seas. Then a great current flowed in the sea when the ships went to catch fish at Halagigie. It was the custom of the ships to go and catch fish, and then take the fish as gifts to throw them into the sea. If this were done, the god was kind and did not paddle the sea into currents, and the fishing boats were able to make a great haul. But if the fishing boats gave no fish as a present, the god became angry and paddling his hands in back of him, he called out, "Ue! Ue!" Then he would shake his head, and let his long hair stream down in back of him. This is the reason why there are great currents in the sea up to this day.

He was usually thought to be a kind of merman, with streaming hair, and a fish's tail, who made a dangerous reef off Aliutu, his home. But the god was represented also as an ancient *toa* with the customary flowing beard, decorations of white shells, and *ti* girdle.

In the year 1891 a festival was held. The people of Tuapa prepared a festival including a large feast and many gifts, as a farewell to their *akoako* (Christian teacher).



## According to native account:

Then they prepared a large idol, from the wood of the puka tree; his name was Limaua. After they had finished preparing the idol, they covered it up with *hiapo*, and carried it to the *male*. The people followed behind it dancing. Then they took a rope and suspended the idol from a coconut tree, so that the people of Mutalau might throw spears at it. They cried out, "If the spears pierce, Nemaia [the *akoako*] can go up to Mutalau, but if they miss he must stay back." Then twenty spears were thrown, but they all missed. Then Makaea jumped out and threw, but he did not pierce. Finally Vihekula jumped out and danced with a spear, then he pierced the idol through and through. The spear passed through the chest of Limaua, then slipped [*heke*], and nearly pierced Apelamo. This spear was made of the wood of the kafika tree; it was newly made, and it was three fathoms long. They say that it was so heavy that a boy of five years could not carry it.

After this they pulled the god about on the top of the line, and sang this song,

Ko e mate toa he ha?

Why did the toa die?

Ko e mate toa he kai fakaamu, etc.

He died because they ate him bit by bit,  
etc.

The natives still believe that Limaua lives in the sea, although they no longer throw him offerings of fishes. Uea once came upon Limaua while he was out fishing with another man in a native canoe. When the face and flowing locks of Limaua appeared upon the surface the companion of Uea became terrified and wished to flee to shore. But Uea stood up in the boat and raising his paddle high in the air, brought it down full force on the upturned face of the god. Limaua then sank below the waves. Uea now relates this story with much gusto, but his companion of the fishing trip has never again ventured upon the sea.

It is said that Limaua became enraged after the festival of 1891, and that for three days and three nights he floated on the top of the waters, with his hair floating on the waves.

The next time that this ceremony of throwing spears at Limaua was enacted, was in 1924. The people of my *kaina* wished to give me a farewell celebration, as we expected a vessel to arrive shortly and take us to the United States. The people of Aliutu were *magafaoa* (relatives) of the people in our *kaina*, and their services were therefore enlisted for the purpose of giving an old fashioned "killing the god" ceremony.

Long before the day of the big feast and ceremony, the people of Aliutu were busy practicing the dances and hewing out the idol. No one was permitted to go near the place where the idol was being made.

On the day of the celebration a great feast was laid out, including a half dozen pigs and fifty or more chickens. The white people of the island had been invited. After this a men's dance was given, said to be an imitation of a Raratongan dance.

At the proper time the Limaua, still heavily wrapped in cloth, was



brought in on the shoulders of four men, while behind came the men of Aliutu, dancing and singing and armed either with the old fashioned spears and *katoua*, or with imitation spears from the branches of trees. Next a suitable spot was found between two trees, and Limaui was suspended in mid-air from a rope. A hush of expectancy fell upon the audience. Then the final wrappings fell off, and Limaui was exposed to the full view of the audience.

A heavy branch of a tree was put in my hands, I was placed about a hundred yards from the idol, and instructed to pierce it through the chest. In the meantime the warriors rushed out on me from behind the idol, brandishing their spears (real ones) and dancing the *takalo*. Unhesitatingly but clumsily I balanced my crooked stick in the air and threw at the idol. The stick went about a dozen yards, and landed in the grass.

A cry of disappointment arose from the onlookers, but I explained that there was too much noise from the would-be warriors, that the sun was in my eyes, and that my spear was too crooked and heavy. Finally I arranged my own terms, and with the hostile warriors out of the way, I managed to sneak up to within ten yards of Limaui. Then I raised the spear in the air, and balancing it for a moment, I threw it full force onto the face of the *tupua*. A cry of joy arose, and the god who a moment before had been moving violently up and down on his line, was now left inanimate.

Veli, my landlord, then took the part of the dead god, and calmly stretched himself full length on the ground. Here he was mourned over as a fallen *toa*, to the sound of the customary *tagi*, "*Ko e mate toa he ha.*" A song evidently composed for quite a different occasion, the meaning or significance of which is no longer remembered.

I have described this primitive drama in detail, because I believe it to be very old and of considerable importance. It will be remembered that the drama of the Aztecs, the Greeks, and even the Christians (I refer to the miracle plays) started originally in a ceremony in which a chief god was sacrificed, mourned over, then resurrected. Although the Niue idol was not brought to life again, yet we may be justified in calling the Niue ceremony a primitive drama of the Polynesian people.

## WARFARE

The natives of Niue are not by nature a bloodthirsty people, or even conspicuous for their valor, yet their records show that they formerly lived in a state of more or less incessant warfare. Most of these wars were waged between settlements of the north and south ends of the island, Motu and Tafari. Records tell of so-called civil wars between neighboring villages. Blood feuds existed between individual families, some of them of long duration. There was no regular system of accepting *weregild* or its equivalent as atonement for murder; and the governmental regime was not powerful enough to interfere between the contending families. So great, in fact, was the turmoil by the warring parties of Niue that many families lived in limestone caves; others in isolated portions of the bush, hoping thus to escape the attention of hostile war parties.

Warfare was both a game and a business to the people of Niue. It was a game inasmuch as it was carried on under certain fixed conventions and with a definite technique to which both sides conformed. It was a business in regard to its general purpose, that of taking land from the opposing *toa*.

Paulo, the Samoan teacher, who came to Niue in 1849, persuaded the chiefs of the island to meet in conference and abolish warfare. The peace (*mafola*) established at that date has lasted to the present time, and there are no living natives who ever engaged in warfare. The eleven villages today strive with each other on the cricket field. While these games are carried on in an eminently friendly manner, they allow for an outlet to the spirit of village rivalry. Certain of the old war customs are maintained, as, for example, abstinence from sexual intercourse immediately preceding and during the interval of time that the struggle is carried on.

The modern lawcourt (*fono*), is the substitute for the old time business of war. It is here that the important member of the family presents his claims to other people's property. The methods employed by the natives before the court of law are not always of an "honorable" nature, and even the most intelligent native may commit perjury in the attempt to gain possession of property for which they have really no need. There is plenty of land to go round, but the oldtime customs die hard.

## WEAPONS

To the study of Niuean weapons made by Smith, I have been able to make additions, especially with reference to throwing stones, spears, and clubs.

There is no evidence that either the sling or the bow and arrow used in bird hunting were ever used in warfare. I was told, however, that warriors sometimes fastened a string to their throwing stones for the purpose of hurling them further. The fighting stones (*maka*) are 4 to 5 inches long and 3 to 4 inches wide. Most of them are of coral, smooth, pointed, and polished. The native names follow:

Maka-uli. Black stone (Pl. VIII, B, a, b)  
 Maka-kiki. Blackish grey stone  
 Maka-geegee. Stone from the *Tridacna* shell  
 Maka-tatili. Very smooth and polished stone  
 Maka-fatu-kala. Not very smooth stone  
 Maka-gutu-umu-ti. Stone taken from the ti oven  
 Maka-poupou-ana. Stone made from stalactite (Pl. VIII, B, c)  
 Makafua. Rough stone from the forest  
 Maka-pihi. Heavy stone from the bush (Used as weight in fishing.)  
 Maka-fatu. Heavy stone  
 Maka-vao. Stone from the bush  
 Maka-gumutu. Stone from the caves  
 Maka-olo. Stone sharpened at both ends  
 Maka-patu-kala-taha. Stone sharpened at one end  
 Maka-mao. Hard stone

The following relates to the *maka-uli*:

Maka uli, e maka uli e!	The black stone, O! the black stone!
Ne tau hololoa e mautolu.	We always fight with this.
He tau, tau lalahi,	When there are big wars,
To tau fakamui e tau	We leave until the end
Maka ne toe.	All the other stones.
Tuku kehe lagi	Now I throw my stones
Haku tau maka.	Up to the sky.

Smith was informed that the *toa* carried a supply of stones in baskets, and also a large number, as many as fifty, in their war girdles. When these supplies were exhausted, the loose stones lying about were used.

Spears (*tao*) were shafted with the light olulu wood, but their barked heads were made of the hard kieta wood. The shafts, averaging eight feet in length, were painted dark brown. The names of some of the spears are:

Tao-hoehoe (Pl. IX, A)  
 Tao-haufua (Pl. IX, B)  
 Tao-tala-tolu, spear with triple series of barbs  
 Tao-mago, forked spear (Pl. IX, J)

Tao-mataua, two pronged spear (Pl. IX, *H*), said to have been carried by the leader of the troops

Tao-mata-tolu, three pronged spear

Tao-uaki, spear in one piece without a separate barb

Tao-kete, not a fighting spear, used in the dances. Its end is split, causing it to rattle when shaken

Kau-valo-valo, long thick spear without barbs

Tao-polo, spear with a handle in the center and barbs on both ends

Ulu-fua-miti, a thick spear (Pl. IX, *O*)

Cleaving clubs of several kinds were used as weapons by the Niueans.

Katoua, a club 3 to 6 feet long with a blade 3 to 6 inches broad

Papa, club similar to the *katoua*, but broader

Fakahutuaniu, club not as broad as the *papa*, but thicker

Akaufua, (Pl. VIII, *C*, *d*)

Ulu-puku, small hand club, used probably for dances (Pl. IX, *L*)

Gutu-mea, narrow club with striking end curves (Pl. VIII, *C*, *a*)

Plate VIII, *C*, *c* illustrates a curiously shaped spear made from the roots of a tree. I do not know its name, but it evidently was used for decoration only.

Basil Thompson (18) believed that the cleaving clubs were not adapted to war, but were used only for frightening the enemy. He did not understand perhaps that in combat the throwing stones were first used, and that after the enemy had fallen he was pierced by the sharp end of the *katoua*. The clubs were heavy enough to slice a man's head down to his shoulders. A *toa* by the name of Ihuga had a *katoua* eight fathoms long and when he went to war he was able to swing at two men at the same time. Another *toa*, Papalagi, is said to have split his opponent open from head to feet. In fact so deadly were the *katoua* believed to be, that the natives of Niue petitioned the Government to be allowed to carry them over seas in the recent war against Germany.

Inserting shark's teeth into the *katoua* rendered it even more deadly. (Plate VIII, *C*, *c*.) Concerning one of these the following song was composed:

Mitaki na nifo he mago,  
Ne foaki e au ma mutolu,  
He mulu veihi a ki he oluolu.

The teeth of the shark are good,  
I ask you to give them to me,  
You will make them into an *oluolu*  
club.

It has been noted by previous visitors to Niue that pieces of green kava root were fastened to the barbs (*hoe*) of the spears in order to cause irritation of the wounds. According to Smith, the barbed ends of spears were made slender in order that they might break off in the wounds. I was told that this was done so that they might break on the ground after they were thrown, and thus prevent their being thrown back. It was the custom of



proficient *toa* to bend down on one knee when a spear was thrown at them, and catching the spear in mid air, hurl it back at the enemy.

The handles of many spears are decorated with the feathers of the dove or the parrakeet as a mark of honor (*lilifu*) to the weapon. Such an ornamentation, *manumea* (Pl. IX, E) was made only after the weapon had killed a man.

It is probable that the *kataua* developed from the *tao* locally on the island of Niue itself. Figure 5 illustrates a *katoua* which is barbed very much as the spears, and might be considered as the missing link between the two forms of weapons.

The points of some spears were made of crabs' claws. It is said that a *toa*, Paikutau, was wounded in the eye by the point of a spear made of the



FIGURE 5.—Sketch of cleaving spear (*katoua*) showing possible gradation between spears and cleaving club. (After Edge-Partington and Heape.)

claw of a Kalavi crab and that point remained in the eye for thirty years. When the man was suffering the people used to say, "He is not very much of a *toa*." But when the spear point was taken out "the island indeed knew that he was a brave *toa*."

The importance of seasoning weapons of war is shown by the following account:

Vetevihi and Ikipule lived at Togatiti in Paluki. It was the custom of Vetevihi to go to war. He was also very clever in composing songs. Ikipule was his younger brother. It was his custom to make weapons of war and spears out of wood.

Once Vetevihi learned that a war was about to arise in Avaau. So he left, and entering the bush at Halopia he cut down a tree. It was the *oluolu* tree. He gave the wood of this tree to his brother to fashion. The younger brother said, "How shall I make this club? Shall I make it into an *ulu-fua-miti* or into a *fakahutuanuu*?"

The older brother replied, "Do not make it into a *fakahutuanuu*."

The younger brother made the club, and it was finished. He asked his older brother to leave the club and allow it to dry. But the older brother refused, and said, "No, for a war is about to come, and I will have nothing then with which to do the war dance (*takalo*)."

Then the two disputed, but the decision was finally left to the elder brother. He trusted in his strength because he was a young man. So he took the club, and did the war dance, singing, "A-i-a! Kua lata tuai!" (There now, it is good enough!) Then he took the club and went to the battle field.

When the day of the fight arrived Vetevihi was very strong at the beginning. But when the fight lasted on he turned his back to the troops and was beaten. His men then urged him to resume the fight. He was weakened from the weight of his club. Then he thought of the words of his younger brother and became strong again. But it was no use, his troops were beaten. So he threw away his club on the battle field and ran to save his life.

## PREPARATION FOR WAR

The following account illustrates the earnestness with which the Niueans prepared for war:

It was the custom in the olden times, when the time of fighting drew near, for a man to sleep three nights away from the house of his family. This was done so that the man would not be foolish, and then afterwards be wounded by a spear or a stone.

The fighting stones all had special names and they were put in a *kafa* (girdle) which was plaited like a mat. The *kafa* was about six to seven inches wide and was customarily four fathoms in length. The third night before the war arrived they wound the *kafa* around their stomachs and slept in this manner during the night, neither eating nor drinking.

Early the next morning the men ate *fua polo* (the red berry from the solanum tree). They also took some of these berries and placed them in their *kafa*. Then when they were hungry in battle they took them out and ate them. The berries were the only thing that they ate.

A man would then put three stones in his *kafa* and the berries. He would then say, "I take these and will not throw them away until the enemy is defeated." Then the stones were taken out of the *kafa*, and they lighted a fire and heated them in order to place a curse upon the enemy. These are the words of the curse, "*Lau he ate, fua lau he ulu motuhia ē. Ola taga mate vave hifo he lā ne to.*" (Cut his heart, cut his head. I pray that he may die quickly as the sun goes down.) Then the men were rubbed with oil and with the soot of the tuitui (the candle-nut). After the men had again put on their *kafa*, a name was given to them, *makafakahulola*. The stones were not allowed to be again taken out of the *kafa* until the troops had gathered together. Then one man was allowed to take one stone out as a blessing (*moui*). They had a spear with two prongs, *ta-mata-ua*, which was used to guide the troops with.

In this account no mention was made of the *taula-atua*, or shaman. Yet all the other authorities on the island write that the *taula-atua* played a large part in the pre-war ceremonies. Before a chief went to war he always consulted a *taula-atua*, who went into a trance, and consulted his *tupua* (god). Upon coming out of the trance the *taula-atua* was able to advise the chief as to whether or not he should go to war. This advice was usually followed.

The most important part that the *taula-atua* played in pre-war ceremonies was in the *tugi e maama*, or lighting the fires, according to a native informant:

One could not go to war without ceremony in the olden times. There were certain things that had to be done before the troops went to war. They first lit the fires, and then the troops went to war.

The *taula-atua* was the person who lighted the fires. It was he (or she) that called out to his gods to come together and aid the troops because they were about to fight. This is the meaning of the lighting of the fires. The *taula-atua* lighted a large fire. In the fire they burnt the poisonous<sup>13</sup> wood of the kieto, the mootā or the fue-mamala tree.

<sup>13</sup> These trees are not poisonous. The natives probably believed that the curse of the *taula-atua* gave them poisonous qualities.

Leaves of the fue-mamala tree were then placed in the fire in order to make it smoke, and the troops blackened the ends of their spears in this smoke. While the troops were blackening their spears the *taula-atua* cursed," *Ka velo e tao, ti tu he ulu, poke tu he mata, poke tu he fatafata, poke tu he manava; ti kona ke mate e tagata neke moui.*" (When a spear is thrown, let it strike him on the head, or strike him on the face, or strike him on the chest, or strike him in the stomach; then the man will be poisoned and he will not live.)

When the *taula-atua* had finished cursing he hit his head with a burning torch made from the wood of the kofetoga tree. This made the torch throw out sparks against his head. Then the lighting of the fires was finished and the troops did the war dance (*takalo*) in order to show off before the *taula-atua*. After the *takalo* was finished the people appointed the strongest man to act as leader, he was the best of all of them.

The first man *toto e fue*, held the *fue* or emblem.

The second man was the *toko*, or support.

The third man was the *lau mamanu*, the leaf of a sacred plant.

The fourth man was the *mata-atua*, the eyes of the gods.

The fifth man was the *fulu tatao*, the ambusher.

The sixth man was the *kanehala*.

The seventh man was the *tomoui*.

As soon as they had finished choosing the leaders, the other *toa* followed in the rear. Then they went to fight against Tafiiti.

When the time of the fight arrived they called out, saying,

Toko, tafakaveli, tafakaveli! (*Toko*, mow them down!)

Tuia, tuia! (Fight hard!)

Gutu-akupa, gutu-akupa! (The point of the spear).

Kaikai-poe, kaikai-poe! (Stand firm!)

Halatavahi, halatavahi! Cut down the vahi tree, i. e. the enemy.)

These were the boasting words that Motu called out at the time of fighting. When the troops heard the words that the *toa* called out they became encouraged to fight for victory. The cowards, however, would not fight. They were called,

Tagata hahamo (burden carriers).

Tagata tulalofa (people who stand beneath the fa tree).

Tagata tulalotavahi (people who stand beneath the tavahi tree).

It is probable that the curse given in the above account is not very ancient, for the wording is modern. A more ancient version of the Motu curse is, "*Hālā Tafiiti, akihia olotaga!*" (Be beaten Tafiiti, let your throats be torn out!) Another version of the curse placed on the war stones reads:

Koe makauli moe gēgē, fakataka ua he  
matatua.

Tuki kihe ulu, tuki kihe nifo, ke aki e  
alelo he koko.

Haku maka tuki kihe lagi.

It is a black stone, and a gēgē stone  
leave them both together.

Hit him on the head, hit him on the  
teeth, tear the tongue out of his  
throat.

My stone will hit the sky.

There was a definite course of training for men preparing to fight. A native writes:



When the people were taught how to fight there was one large sized man who was chosen as leader. The men engaged in (sham) combat, and then they ran. But the leader called out *kaikaipoe, kaikaipoe!* (Stop running, stop running!) Then he made them hold firm, calling, *tutuia, tutuia!* (Stop walking, stop walking!) When they had stopped they stamped on the ground until the earth shook under their feet. Then they advanced and did the same thing over again. Finally the day came when they fought (amongst themselves) in order to see which were the men who were strong and quick in all things. They did this before they had any real fighting.

The only defensive armor worn by the *toa* was the tapa hat. This was unstained, and sometimes wound as many as eight times over the head as defense against the hostile clubs (p. 122). I can discover no reason for the custom of oiling the body before going to war. Perhaps the oil made the *toa* harder to grasp. The oil used was obtained from either the fetau tree or the tuitui tree.

#### ACCOUNTS OF WARS AND WAR HEROES

The wars on Niue were usually not of any great seriousness as far as loss of life went, but they were of great frequency. It needed no great provocation to bring on a war. Losing the game of *tatika*, or the careless use of an insulting word, would be sufficient.

A very serious civil war once occurred at Motu after the game of *tatika*.

The people from one side of Motu gathered together with the people of Mame, and they all pulled up the weeds in the field and played at the game of *tatika*. The people from Mame were always beaten, and they became angry. One man from Mame, named Tiuea, was so infuriated that he used these words, "*Fakamamate ma tau veka*"! (Shut up, you dirty beasts!)

[After this a war was inevitable] the people of Mame prepared a plan to attack the Motu people when they had tied up their houses with weeds and sugar cane leaves in anticipation of a hurricane. The people of Mame came to Motu in the night and blocked the doorways of the houses with the weeds and sugar cane leaves, and set the houses on fire. The houses and the people within them were all destroyed by the fire.

Another version of this story states that the people of Motu were greedy and when the people of Mame asked them for food, they refused it. "It was for this reason that a civil war (*felakutaki*) started and the houses at Motu were burnt."

At one time the chief Fiti of Avatele had tried to conciliate the two halves of the island. The people of Mutalau having gone down to visit the beach at Avatele, were entertained by Fiti, who gave them coconuts. The Mutalau people were delighted at their kind reception and promised Fiti that they would come back again and bring a return feast.

No sooner had the Mutalau people returned, however, than one of



their *toa*, Ikihemata, died by being choked to death by a *telekihi* fish. Then a false rumor came from Avatele that the people of that place had gone up, and cutting down a kanumea tree had thrown it in the opening of the reef at Avatele, and that they had made pretense that the tree was Ikihemata. No sooner did the people of Mutalau hear of this rumor than they forgot all about their friendship with Fiti, and made plans to go down and wipe out the village of Avatele.

Many wars arose from the attempt made by the natives to carry the "eye for an eye, and tooth for a tooth" method of retaliation.

An informant writes:

Once two Tuapa men, named Ligatoa and Fakapuna, quarrelled over the ownership of a tuitui tree. Fakapuna gave the first blow and split the head of Ligatoa. Then the offspring of Ligatoa heard of this at Mutalau, that the head of the parent had been split. So they gathered all of the *toa* of Mutalau that they might split the head of Fakapuna, and thus pay back for the split head of Ligatoa.

Very often the opposing parties would engage in an argument before the commencement of hostilities, especially when one side was not eager for conflict.

There was a *toa* of Motu named Hunuki. He sent a message to a *toa* of Tafiti named Tiuea. We are about to raise up the *male* (plaza) at Hikuniu." At once the *toa* of Tafiti held a council (*pulega*), and they examined the words of the message; they were indeed heavy. Then they sent back the following reply:

"Go up the bush road at Paliati, and cut down the kafika tree. Then stand in the bush at Paliati and make a torch for the catching of fish. Use the torch for the catching of two *malolo* fish, which you will leave in the surf at Vailoa for the purpose of eating. Then peace will be on the island, but do not break the peace."

But a *toa* of Mutalau, named Togaiki, sent the message a second time against the *toa* of Tafiti, saying, "We are about to raise up the *male* at Hikuniu." The troops of Tafiti again examined the words of the message, and they were indeed heavy. So they sent back this reply:

"Oh Togaiki, who art *toa* of Mutalau, go down the road to Uluvehi. Turn at the road to Oneone. There you will find some stones. Lift these up and catch the *uga* that lives in the hollow. Pull off the claw of the *uga*. Then go down the road to Titigalaulu and cut down the pao tree which stands on the road. From the wood of this tree bore out a kofe (*flute*) to play on feast days. But leave the island in peace, do not destroy the peace."

Now there happened to be a pair of twins in Tafiti who were called Uga. These twins sent word to the twins of Motu, after this fashion. "Go and say to the twins of Motu:—the crabs crawl to bite you in the days that are left."

After the twins of Motu had pondered upon these words they replied, "If the crabs crawl we will put them in the fire and their claws will come off. The claws are easy to take off once the crab is baked in the fire."

Then the twins of Tafiti said, "Our weapons are like unto the fire, and our fire will go down and burn you in the days that remain."

It was for this reason that the war came about, for the answers aroused the fury of the people of Motu. The battle took place at the *maletau* (battle field) of Anopai. All of the four twins fell dead on that field.

The warriors of Niue were greatly given to boasting, as is shown by their songs, some of which were very simple, composed by the individual fighter. For example, the song of Togiamafiti:

Tuiaki fano ke tau, ke kau maama,	Ready to go and fight, to see with the eyes,
Ke kalo kieto, tuiaki fano ke tau.	To prepare the spears, ready to go and fight.
Huhu pēa tama Hakupu, heigoa na e eke aki?	The people of Hakupu are coming, what are we going to do with them?
He mata kaveloloa he lā, na e fakahoe-hoe <sup>19</sup> aki haku fano kehe tau.	The sun beams stream straight down, and—(?) I go to the war.
Tuiaki fano ke tau.	Ready to go and fight.

Manamana has communicated to me certain war songs of Tafiti. When the Tafiti people went to battle they chanted,

Tu i luga Tagaloa, tu i tua Tagaloa, monu Tagaloa.	Stand in front Tagaloa, stand in back Tagaloa, bless us Tagaloa.
Mata i mua, mata i tua, monu Tagaloa.	Face the front, face the back, bless us Tagaloa.

When the war was finished and the troops had returned victorious, all the people gathered together and sang their song of rejoicing,

Tonuaite malokoki holoī	Tonuaite malokokiholoī, <sup>20</sup>
Lagiuliuli, lagipokio malokokiholoī.	The pattering of rain, the pattering of rain,
Hoku akau ulufuamiti, malokokiholoī,	My <i>ulufuamiti</i> club
Kau lipilipi ha ulu toa, malokokiholoī.	Smashed the head of the <i>toa</i> .
Hoku akau fakahuatua, niku, malokokiholoī.	Mana came to the club, I had it.
Hoku tau tonu kia Tagaloa, malokokiholoī.	My battle is blessed by Tagaloa,
Hoku tau pe ha uhila kapa, malokokiholoī.	The lightning will come and aid me,
Hoku tau pe ha mafuiketo, malokokiholoī.	My fighting is like an earthquake,
Hoku tau pe ha patulikito, malokokiholoī.	My fighting is like a thunderbolt,
Hoku tao pe ha hiohio to, malokokiholoī.	My spear will come down like a whirlwind,
Hoku maka pe ha afa to, malokokiholoī.	My stones will come like the hurricane.
Maloaito, tu i luga Tagaloa, tu i luga, tu i luga.	Tagaloa aid me, aid me, aid me!
Tukulua, o-o-o-a!	<i>Tukulua</i> o-o-o-a!

If the troops were beaten, however, they made no song. They said nothing because they were ashamed, and they fled in every direction. If

<sup>19</sup> I am not sure of the meaning of *fakahoe*. *Hoehoe* are the barbs on the spears. Perhaps this clause may be translated, "Armed with my spears I go to the war."

<sup>20</sup> *Malokokiholoī* represents the sound of the flute playing. This word ends every line of the verse, but is not shown in the translation.

there was a large victory they were proud and joyful, but if they were beaten they would be weak and worried.

Cunning was met with cunning in the following native account:

It was the custom of Tonga and Niue to have peace and freedom of intercourse. A certain day arrived when they suddenly agreed to meet and have a feast at Tafolahina. Some Tongans stayed there and prepared a feast. The Tongans took some coconuts and husked them to the kernel. They were careful with the husks and left them in a pile. They looked like real coconuts. This was to be their offering gift. But the people of Niue snared some owls as their offering for the feast.

When the day arrived on which the people of Tonga and the people of Niue were to gather at Tafolahina to eat the feast they decided instead to meet on the sea. Then the people of Niue carried the chickens to the canoes of the Tongans. But they were not real chickens. Then the coconuts were brought in return to the Niue boats. They were not real coconuts, they were only dry shells.

This feast turned out to be no jesting matter, for when the time of farewell bidding arrived each side sang a taunting song and departed, the song of the Tongans went as follows:

Niu Niu pulu, Niu niu pulu.

Coconut husk, Coconut husk.

The people of Niue replied in this manner,

Moamoa lulu, Moamoa lulu.

Chicken chicken owl, Chicken chicken owl.

Then both sides disputed and slandered one another. Finally the quarrel ended and the Tongans went off peacefully. But the people of Niue prepared a wicked strategy at Fakaleaina. They placed the board of a canoe from one side to the other of a chasm. Then when the Tongans made a war journey by night they came up the road and crossed over on the surface of the board. When they reached the center where the chasm was the deepest the board overturned. The people of Niue called out,

Oe, oe, the people are going down!

Oe, oe, the people are going down!

So that war expedition was quite finished. The cave was called Anatoga. This name has lasted to the present day. Only a few of the men were saved. They also called it Toganelea, because voices came from the cave that night. These are the names of the men that were saved: Finetoga, Taufitiahi, and Pua. Only those were saved who escaped up [the chasm?]. These people lived at Palialiaati. Some of them moved up and lived at Vavau and Toloagatoga. Then some returned again to Fonuakula. The descendants of these people live on the island to this day.

Quite a different version of this story was given to Thomson (18, p. 18) in Tonga. The fact appears to be established, however, that the people of Tonga came to Niue on a war expedition about 1535 A.D. and that some of the people of the expedition remained in Niue.

Some of the men who did the most boasting before the war, and who were most apt at the *takalo*, proved to be arrant cowards on the battlefield. For example, "A Mutalau man named Ulukehetau (leader in the fight) surpassed all others in strength and in boasting. When he led the men to battle, however, he was the first to flee, thus giving the day to Tafari."

Toloea, a Tafari man, appointed to teach the troops, also was a braggart. He bound around his head and his waist the roots of the pandanus plant.



Then he lighted these and made them blaze with fire and ran in the night crying, "The fire is burning, the fire is burning! The fire is lighted, the fire is lighted"! The troops rejoiced because they believed that he was warming his club for the day of the combat. But when the actual fight came Toloa was the first to flee. After this the people treated him very badly.

Sometimes a *toa* would have absurd confidence in his own strength, and thereby expose himself to death at the hands of the enemy. A native says:

The troops of Motu once came down to fight against Tafiti. They came in the night and they ambushed themselves in the bush at Hulutoga. The troops of Tafiti went to the battle that same night, and, not knowing of the ambush, they lit up their path with torches.

There was one big *toa* among the troops of Tafiti, Tapatau was his name. He followed this plan. He tied a rope (*toua*) made from the root of the banyan tree around his thighs. He tied it very firmly. The men of Tapatau's troops begged him "Throw that rope away, do not tie it around your thighs. It is tied fast to you, and when the enemy grasp hold of it you will die."

But Tapatau answered, "If an enemy grabs hold of me by the rope, I will pull at him. I will thus capture the man and break his neck in the bush, and he will die." That is the way Tapatau thought. He imagined that he could catch men by the rope that was attached to him, and that he would kill all the men that clung to the rope when the time for the fight arrived.

Presently the troops of Tafiti were surprised on the road by the ambush laid by the troops of Motu. Both sides commenced to fight, and one of the *toa* of Motu caught hold of Tapatau by the rope by which he had fastened himself. Tapatau tried to pull away, but he was unable to, for the rope was firm. Then he begged<sup>21</sup> for his life of Falitoa, who was the enemy pulling at the rope. "*Kia age e Falitoa e ule haana ke kai a ia. Ti fakamoui a ia. Mai e ule hau, ma Falitoa ke kai e au, mai, mai, mai e ule ke kai!*" But Falitoa would not let go. Instead he shouted to his troops, "Come and kill the enemy!" A man by the name of Tamatatule came and cut the head of Tapatau with his hatchet. They cut the body of Tapatau into little pieces and threw them in the bush. They were very angry with this *toa* because he had killed many of their men in the past. Four of the strongest *toa* of Tafiti were killed that night, but all of the Motu men escaped. Therefore Motu was victorious.

The famous *toa* Talamahina prepared to wage a war because he had been given a poor variety of fish as a *fakalofa* (p. 113). Agivalu was the father of Talamahina, and when his sons decided to wage war he joined their troops. The native account continues:

Each of the *toa* took his share of the weapons, one seized a club, one a spear, and one took some stones. But Agivalu trusted in his strength, and he went empty handed to the war. He had neither club, spear, nor stone. He spoke thus to his troops, "I will chase the men and throw them over my back so that you can kill them."

The troops fought on the battlefield at Mana. There was in that fort (*taue*) a big *toa* named Matahaiki. As they fought, Matahaiki threw a spear at Agivalu. But Agivalu dodged by stooping (*kalo fakau*) and the spear struck a banana tree and he escaped uninjured. After this the fight became violent, and some men, seeing that

<sup>21</sup> A recognized method of conciliation was the mutual kissing of male pudenda. A *toa* might offer to surrender by merely showing his pudenda to the enemy.



Agivalu was not defending himself with a weapon, made an attack upon him. The men hit him with their weapons, and he died on the battlefield. Agivalu met his death because he had trusted merely in his own strength.

Various treacherous schemes were used in war for the purpose of exterminating the enemy. A favorite device was the giving of a feast, to which the enemy were invited, and at which they were slaughtered. The story of Nifokulapu, given by a native, is well known to the present generation of the island.

Some people came down from the east side of Mutalau and lived beside the sea. They lived in a cave that extended down to the sea and were thereby able to obtain plenty of fish. There were men, women and children that lived in this cave.

Presently the warriors of the western side of the island heard that there were people living in the cave at Vaihoko. At once they decided to attack the place. The troops surprised the people in the cave and killed them all. Then they found a large blow-hole that extended down to the sea. They threw the corpses down this hole.

There was one man, however, who survived. His name was Nifokulapu. He went far back inside of the cave, and placing a stick between the narrow stone walls, he raised himself to the roof. He clung fast to this stick and thus concealed himself from the enemy. After a few days had passed Nifokulapu came out of the cave, and it was thus that he remained alive. He finally married and became the father of offspring, both male and female.

Time passed, and a whole generation grew up after the slaughter at Vaihoko. But Nifokulapu never forgot the death of his parents, and he meditated upon a means for attaining blood revenge. During this period he learned a lot. He ate nothing that satisfied him, but he fasted that he might be able to catch Togiafulu, the leader of his enemies, and kill him. It was also the custom of Nifokulapu to run to Tuo and jump over the chasm that was situated at this point. At first he was not able to do this, but finally he accomplished the feat. He also practised biting stones until they broke.

During this period Togiafulu had placed a tapu on coconuts, but the people used to eat the coconuts and then throw the husks (*pulu*) into the chasm at Tuo. They did this because they were afraid of Togiafulu. Nifokulapu learned many things at this chasm as he watched the people throw in the coconut husks. One day he danced (*fiauhi*)<sup>22</sup> at this place and sang "*E ko Tuo, ko Tuo, ne tolopulu*<sup>23</sup> *i tuai, ne tolopulu i tuai.*" (O Tuo, Oh Tuo, throw in husks, throw in husks, as of old.)

Finally a report went around that Nifokulapu was on the point of dying. When this rumor reached Fakaleipua, the younger brother of Nifokulapu, he arose and went to Faofao (Mutalau). When he arrived there the two brothers met and rubbed noses (*figita*). Then Nifokulapu took out a black stone from his *fatua-kafa* (belt made from a woman's hair) and gave it to Fakaleipua, telling him to bite the stone. "See if you can break it," he said. Fakaleipua took hold of the stone, and he bit, but he could not break the stone.

Nifokulapu then said, "Oho! Give the stone to me." Fakaleipua passed the stone to Nifokulapu, who seized it securely, and drawing up all his strength he bit, and then bit again. The stone was broken in two.

After this Nifokulapu said, "Come, let us make an *aukava* (fish poisoning), and

<sup>22</sup> *Fiauhi*, a dance performed at the time of a death; done here in anticipation of the death of an enemy.

<sup>23</sup> *Tolopulu*, literally the throwing away of coconut husks; used here in the symbolic sense of human bodies.

prepare a feast for Togiafulu to eat; for on the day of the feast we will make an end of that enemy."

Fakaleipua asked, "How are we going to do it?"

Nifokulapu replied, "So and so, and so and so." The two men then prepared the different things, and poisoned a lot of fish at Finekavatala. Fakaleipua did all as his elder brother directed him. They beat down a *mala* (field) and then waited until the *mala* was aged. One day Togiafulu asked Nifokulapu why his coconuts did not grow. "Wait a while," replied Nifokulapu, "wait until the beak of the Tuaki bird bites into the coconuts, then they will be ripe and I will invite you to the feast."

The day arrived when the *talo* was mature and was brought in for the feast. Nifokulapu and Fakaleipua then dug a hole six fathoms long and two fathoms in breadth. They made the hole very deep. They tied the *talo* in one corner of the pit and put the feast, which was a hundred feet long, in another corner. There was a long passage in the pit extending through the feast. When everything was ready Nifokulapu invited Togiafulu to come up and eat the feast.

Togiafulu sent word to all his relations, and they all prepared to go up to Matafonua and eat the feast. They came in a fleet of canoes and landed for the night at Vaihoko, where they slept in the cave. They arose the next day to eat the feast at Finekavatala. There was one man, however, by the name of Puga, who stayed away. He stopped half way along the road in order to cook some mago.

When the troops arrived at Finekavatala they saw the feast and they greatly rejoiced. They cut a road up to the place as they went. Togiafulu praised the full grown coconuts, and he proclaimed that hereafter coconuts should be *noa*, or free for use. After the guests had all arrived Nifokulapu and Fakamo assembled their troops and gave a *me* (dance) at the south end of the feast, leaving Togiafulu and his relatives in the passageway through the feast, with their retreat cut off by the pit at the further end.

Nifokulapu and Fakaleipua made a dance and sang some very pretty songs, while Togiafulu and his relatives sat very quietly listening to the festivities which were being given in their honor. While the *me* was being given Nifokulapu hid all the war clubs belonging to his guests. When this was done he called out. "Stand up, you should be more suitably seated." His words were not true, however; they were a trap. The guests stood up, and in this manner prepared themselves for the war clubs. Togiafulu was taken completely by surprise when he heard Nifokulapu call out, "Look sharp, the oven is ready and has been opened!" At once he and his men began to be knocked down and killed.

Togiafulu and his men stood up in order to run away, but there was no path for them to escape on. The only road which lay clear was the road that led to the pit. The pit had so been dug that the road should lead into it. Togiafulu and his relatives were all driven down this path and into the pit where they were killed. Not one escaped. Their bones were then taken and carried to the cave at Faofao.

From that day on Mutalau has always, when victorious, given the *fiauhi* (funeral dance),

Fetuku tagata ki Faofao,  
Fetuku tagata ki Faofao,  
Kua puke ana ki Faofao,  
Kua puke ana ki Faofao.

Oh, carry the dead to Faofao,  
Oh, carry the dead to Faofao,  
The cave is full at Faofao,  
The cave is full at Faofao.

There was only one man who escaped. It was Puga; he had escaped because he had stopped to cook *mago*. When the troops came down looking for him the *mago* was not yet through being cooked in the umu. The troops caught him and put him

in the umu alive. After the umu was cold they opened up the stones in which Puga had been cooked.<sup>23a</sup> After this the place was called Puga.

Another story relates how Tepunua and his troops deceived Lipitoa and his followers by a false feast.

They placed stones in the coconut leaf baskets, and above these they placed sticks wrapped in leaves and on top of these, fish wrapped in leaves so as to give the appearance of a feast. When Lipitoa and his troops came to the feast they were all killed. This kind of strategy was so common in the olden days that the warriors became very wary of accepting an invitation to a feast given outside of their own family.

Betraying into ambush was a favorite device of the people. Individuals who had caused the death of many warriors were often led into ambush in this manner. Usually, however, the aim was the extermination of the warrior and all his followers.

One time some of the people from Avatele were at work constructing a canoe. The Motu people heard of this, and went down in the night and lay in ambush beside the canoe. The next morning when the Avatele men returned to their work they were beset by the troops in ambush.

In another instance the Motu people made use of a spy in order to betray Tafiti into ambush.

They [the Motu people] sent down a man by the name of Kihae to Tafiti. When Kihae arrived at the hostile end of the island he pretended that he bore a grudge against a man from his own side. "Come up," he said "and kill Kinitoa who is now working in the bush at Tegitegi." All of the troops of Tafiti came up because they thought that it would be a good chance to kill their enemy. They hid themselves in the bush at Matagu. But there was one man in the Motu troops who bore a grudge (*lotokelea*) and he sent a messenger to the troops of Tafiti and instructed them to turn back quickly as they were deceived and the troops were lying in ambush for them.

The Motu people waited all night, but nobody came. Then they knew that the troops of Tafiti had turned back. Finally the Motu people learned that two of their own men, Pafoulua and Malutau, had betrayed them. These men escaped to the bush and lived the lives of outcasts until Christianity came to the island.

Another time two *toa* of Motu made a wooden image (*fakatino*) of a man and dressed it in tapa cloth. They placed the image beside a fire, and made it appear as a man asleep. Then they brought a big *toa* up from Tafiti, and showing him the image told him that it was his enemy Hunuki that they were betraying. The Tafiti *toa* went back and gathered his troops, but when he returned it was to fall into the ambush that Motu had laid for him,

Another variety of strategy as related by a native was used by Fataiki, who became the second *patuiki* in the times of Christianity.

Two *toa* of Alofi, Fataiki and Pamatagi, went down with their troops to kill a Tafiti *toa* named Tahega. They arrived in the night at the house in which Tahega was sleeping. When they arrived there they made a plan. Pamatagi put on the tapa cloth of a woman and entered the house. He did this so that the people in the

<sup>23a</sup>Puga was not eaten. He was cooked as a degrading punishment.



house would think that it was a woman who had entered from the outside. Once Pamatagi was inside he caused the fire to flare up and thus revealed to the troops the sleeping place of the enemy. The people in the house were not alarmed because they believed that the stranger was a woman of their own household. They were taken by surprise when the hostile troops burst into the house. Fataiki seized hold of Tahega, and the troops killed the man. Many of the relatives inside of the house, however, managed to escape by flight.

Fighting in canoes appears to have been uncommon. I have only one story which relates an occurrence of this nature. Four Motu men started off in a canoe to go round the island, but they were unable to get past Tepa because of the winds and the current. They were then attacked and chased by the canoes from Avatele. They managed to get back to their own district in safety.

Fighting often took place at night. This practise led to a bad mistake made by the Tafiti people. The troops of Motu were located in a fort at Papahu. Upon being attacked by the troops of Tafiti they fought for a while and then fled. The warriors of Tafiti, however, were unaware that the enemy had fled and continued to fight amongst themselves. It was not until morning came that they discovered that they had been fighting each other. No mention was made in the story concerning the number of dead and wounded; perhaps there were none. The mortality rate was never very high when both sides had an equal chance in the combat. In a number of accounts of these petty battles one side is given the victory as soon as a man among the opponents becomes wounded. The actual number of combatants is not recorded. I do not believe that they could have exceeded thirty, as a rule. The actual fighting was done by single combat rather than by the troops acting in unison.

In Niuean warfare frequent use was made of forts (*taue*). These forts were natural protected places among the rugged coral rocks. They are never large enough to accommodate more than about fifteen people, and due to the lack of running water in Niue, could not have furnished refuge during a prolonged siege. Nevertheless they furnished ample shelter in the variety of bush warfare so common in Niue in the olden times.

A fort at Halagigie, situated on the top of high cliffs overlooking the sea, was especially impregnable. The only approach by land was along a narrow path which could easily be protected by the inmates of the fort. A *toa*, Ikipule, pursued by the troops of Motu, once took refuge here. A war party came from the north, however, in a fleet of canoes and made a ladder up the cliffs. They thus surprised the fort from the rear and killed all the people within.

At Fatiau I visited a fort known as Fafague. The approach to it is a



narrow path extending through a thick undergrowth of bush. The fort proper is merely an elevated mass of rocks having but the one path as a means of access. This place was the scene of the last pitched battle fought in Niue. Some of the people of Tafiti had taken refuge here when a group of warriors from Motu swooped down in a surprise attack. It was a time of drougt and a Tafiti man was in the bush gathering a small fruit called *atu*. The Motu troops killed this man and carried his body and showed it to the people in the fort, calling out "*O hake, tamai mo mago!*" (Come, we have brought you a shark.)<sup>24</sup> Then Likalika of Motu threw a stone and killed a Tafiti man. The fight continued until the troops in the fort saw that they were winning, when they made a sally. At this the people of Motu ran away, loosing five of their men. The names of these men were given to the spots where they fell: Pavaha, Kulahulu, Patuuta, Fakatelefolua, and one which my informant has forgotten.

Wars were sometimes fought to extermination, as the defeated troops committed suicide by jumping into the sea. Women and children were either killed, or adopted by the enemy. Torture was not unknown.

The troops of Mutalau once came down to fight against Avatele. They found a man named Mahaga and his boy on the road. They tortured the man to death (*keli fakakelea*) by tearing his body (*hehe hana tino*) and breaking the bones of his hands and feet (*tutu hana a tau lima*), but allowed the boy to live. When the boy became grown he fled back to Avatele, and, of course, immediately began planning blood revenge for his father.

The people were not always merciless in their treatment of the enemy. In the war which followed the return of Uea to the island (p. 33), the troops saw the smoke from a fire a short distance from their path and sent a scout to see if any people were there. The scout found two men, Limakona and Lagigie, making a ti oven, for it was a time of famine. The scout warned these men that the troops were coming and advised them to flee. Lagigie fled the place without stopping. Limakona, however, was unwilling to abandon his precious food, so he fled only a short distance and hid himself. When the troops came they found him and killed him. Lagigie lived until Paulo came and converted the island, at which time his name was changed to Elia and he was appointed a deacon at Tuapa.

The people at time of war not only carried away their wounded, but also attempted to carry away their dead and give them burial. It was deemed essential to give the dead burial, preventing defilement at the hands of the enemy. The commonest form of defilement was cutting up the

<sup>24</sup> In former times the people would cry out when coming home after killing a man or a shark, "*I ko te hoe*" (Here is something good). They never, however, carried the enemies' dead home with them. The people still use this cry at the time of a feast.

body and scattering the pieces in the bush. Another form was to cut open the body, take out the intestines, and wrap them around the trunks of trees. Sometimes merely the hands of the fallen were amputated and tied to a tree. Once human excrement was gathered up and placed on the hands of the dead enemy as a means of defilement. At another time, the body of an enemy was burned. Burial under stones was not considered defilement. One *toa* fought bravely against a number of troops of Mutalau, and in recognition of his valor was given a burial under some stones in the bush.

The fear of the natives of defilement is illustrated in the following story:

There was a man named Fifi who had swollen legs (*huifua*, elephantiasis). He lived alone and he grieved and was very frightened lest the troops come and kill him. Then he thought of a plan to save his life. Every time that the morning star (*fetu aho*) arose he took his canoe and paddled down and hid himself at Mapualagi, where he stayed until evening, when he paddled home. He sang this song,

Hifo ke nofo i tutavaha  
Ke folia a gogo mo taketake.  
Mohe kapo he fia moui ē.  
Mohe lika he fia moui ē.

I go down and stay away from the land  
Like the *gogo* and the *taketake* birds.  
I sleep hidden because I wish to live,  
I sleep uncomfortably because I wish to  
live.

Finally, he asked his sisters and relatives to take him up and leave him at Matalamani [Hakupu]. This was because he was afraid that the troops would come and kill him and defile his soul (*tapilo hana moui*). by defiling his body.

The people believed that it was bad to let their blood flow on the ground when they were wounded. They attempted to save it by sucking at the wound with their mouth. They had no idea of a separate heaven for fallen warriors, as far as I know, but there was a belief that the rats would gnaw the head of a man who died off the battlefield.

The *kafa hega*, or girdle made of parrakeet feathers, was used as a method of making peace. If a chief wished to have a war stopped he would send his *kafa hega* to his enemy, the acceptance of which denoted cessation of hostilities. When the island was at peace the eleven chiefs would perform a ceremony of binding the *kafika* sticks (p.27). There were eleven of these sticks, each stick representing a chief. As long as these sticks were bound together it was considered sacrilegious to start a war. It is said that Lavakula was one of the Tongan warriors who survived the massacre at the cave of Anatoga. According to the Tongan date of this event, as given by Thomson, Lavakula would then have lived in the early part of the 16th century. I am quite positive, however, that Lavakula was a descendant of the Tongan invaders, rather than an actual foreigner. I was unable to obtain the genealogy of Lavakula, but the genealogy of Atemaga, a warrior who lived at the same time as Lavakula, shows that he lived nine generations ago, or in the beginning of the 18th

century. It is quite certain that the people of Niue have no traditions which record the actual achievements of their known ancestors further back than the beginning of the 18th century. It is said that Tipu, one of my Alofi informants, is a descendant of Lavakula. Tipu and his ancestors are noted for their frizzly hair, which is quite different from the wavy locks common to the men and women of Niue.

There exist two versions of the story of the fight which arose between Lavakula and Foutapu, a *toa* of Mutalau. According to one version (p. 183), Lavakula killed Foutapu because he was in love with Foutapu's wife. According to a second version Lavakula fought with Foutapu because of an insult which Foutapu offered him:

Lavakula married a woman of Tamakautoga named Tauahi, and he went there to live with his wife's people. One day he decided to walk up to Mutalau. When he arrived there he found that the people of the place had gone to snare pigeons. He walked on until he came to the snaring place and found himself underneath the *fata* (platform from which the pigeons were snared). As soon as the people had snared two pigeons they offered them to Lavakula. Then Lavakula asked the people who were gathered around him, "What is the name of this place?" Foutapu, who was the chief of the people, replied in an insolent manner, "Where does that *togatea* [white foreigner, an insult] come from who has to ask the name of our pigeon-catching place?" Lavakula heard these words and he became raging with anger. He descended from the place with the two pigeons that he had obtained, and he made waste the land around him in his anger. Then he ran until he came to the bush, where he stopped running and had a rest at Falekaho. After this he continued running until he reached his *kaina* at Halamahaga.

The next day Lavakula went to the bush at Manau where he started to build some six-seated boats from the wood of the moata tree. He did this because he planned revenge against the people of Mutalau. He prepared for war, and [he and his troops] performed the ceremony of *tugi maama*, or lighting the fires. After the canoes were ready he went up the sea road and performed the ceremony of *tugi maama* at Patuutu. When evening arrived he went down to the sea in order to conceal himself from the people of Motu.

The next day war was at hand, so he summoned his two gods, Unupulu and Fakatikitiki, to keep a look out for the gods of Foutapu, because they were flying gods. He next prepared a *pia* oven at Polima, and an oven for two *talo* puddings at Pololo. When these ovens were well cooked he opened them. Then the war suddenly came about, and Foutapu fell in the battlefield of Tufakalele. These are the songs that Lavakula sang,

Huhu kua toga ko tioago mai, "ko fe haku nofoaga"?

Ko tioago mai, "ko Halamahaga haku nofoaga."

Ko tioago mai, ko tioago mai, ko tioago mai i talage ke hake mai.

Manumea he toa kua tatai.

Ko tioago mai, "Haku faleau tu ki moana."

Ko tioago mai, "Nakai fufugia he peau"?

The foreigner asked, saying, "Where is my dwelling place?"

Then I answered, "It is Halamahaga, that is my dwelling place."

Then he asked, and he asked, and he asked, saying, "Come up."

For he was a brave *toa*.

I answered, "My fleet is on the sea."

Then he asked, "Are they not hidden by the waves?"



Ko tioago mai, ko tioago mai i talage ke hake mai.	Ask, ask, and I will say that I will come up,
Manumea he toa kua tatai, ko tioago mai.	For I am a brave <i>toa</i> , if you ask.

Lavakula had another song. "This song rejoiced the hearts of his gods so much that they aided him."

Umupulu he mo Fakatikitiki,	Umupulu and Fakatikitiki,
Uta hoku tao ke kana ki ai,	Take my spear and anoint it,
Fakakatatoa haku tao.	Make my spear strong.

After Lavakula had won the first war he became involved in a second war with Mutalau. This time Talamahina led the troops against him. Lavakula was beaten. He took refuge in one fort after another. He first took refuge at Hafou, then at Mougakahinu, then at Halagigie, and finally in the fort at Tepa.

When the troops of Motu came looking for Lavakula he was not to be found. The troops then heard that he was in the fort at Tepa, and they hastened there to catch him, but they were unable to find the road to the fort. Then they met a woman named Tialoi, who betrayed the road to the fort. "Go up," she said, "to the raised group of banana trees entangled with the pine plant, and there you will find the road down to the fort."

The troops of Motu proceeded at once to follow the instructions of the woman. They went up to the raised group of banana trees, and there found the path down to the fort. When Lavakula saw the troops approaching he prepared to jump down into the sea. He called out thusly to his wife, "Jump, Tauahi, jump, Tauahi!" But Tauahi did not jump, because she wished to live. Then Lavakula cried, "Jump, Tauahi, where is the sweet food that I have offered out all these days"? But Tauahi took no notice, and when the troops came her husband jumped alone and she rushed to a *toa* named Atemaga, and went off arm in arm with him. She later became his wife.

Talamahina who led the troops against Lavakula in the second war, was a very famous warrior of the olden days (p. 138). According to the native myths, his grandmother was not only conceived in a supernatural manner, but was also the sole survivor of a local flood.

Titiatu was a woman from Avatele, and Vaimuatifa was a female *taula-atua* from Tamalagau. One day Vaimuatifa went down to her god Lua of Avatele. When she arrived there she became very friendly with Titiatu, and the two planned to live together on the beach by the sea. Presently they both obtained children, but they did not know where the children came from. The two women continued living together under the rocks at the northern side of the beach.

After a short time had passed, however, the women began to stay apart from each other, and Vaimuatifa and her children went to live at the southern side of the beach. Then another god (*tupua*) of Tamahavea came down suddenly. His name was Potumatelagi. He instructed Titiatu to drive Vaimuatifa away from the beach because she had lately borne a large number of children.

After the god had spoken in this fashion Titiatu and her children commenced to hate Vaimuatifa and her children, and they went up and soiled the portion of the beach on which Vaimuatifa and her children were staying. Vaimuatifa was thus



forced to move and so she took her offspring to Palitua (Avatele). When she arrived there she cried out and instructed Lua to cause the water to come up and drown Titiatu and her children.

Then the waves came up over the top at Tufula, and they reached as far as Liukitua at Avatele. Titiatu and all her children were drowned. One girl, however, was saved. When the waters subsided she was left on the branch of a tialetafa tree, and she lived. The name of this girl was Mahelepa. When she grew up she married a man from Avatele, and the two had many children. Finemata was one of these children, and it was she who afterwards gave birth to the *toa* Talamahina.

Talamahina was a warrior of Vavau who was very greatly feared by the people of Motu because of his bravery. As were all very brave warriors, he was given the name of Togia, or Togiakaiota (Togia-eat-food-raw), and he was much sought after by the troops of the north end of the island. He finally met his death by being betrayed by one of his wives.

At one time all of the villages of the north end united to fight against Talamahina and his troops. In the war that followed, Talamahina was victorious and the troops of Motu had to jump into the sea and swim for their lives. There was one *toa*, however, by the name of Takiula, who came late to the battle. He threw a black stone at Talamahina and hit him on the leg. Talamahina fell to the ground, and Takiula fled for his life instead of killing the fallen warrior.

After this Talamahina lay quiet for some days, for his standing on the island was greatly diminished. It was at this time that one of his wives [a Motu woman] finished her journey to the south of the island, her trip ended at the war trail leading to Taulihega. She turned off at Vavau in order to visit Talamahina and find out how his foot was getting along. When she arrived at the house of Falama, she greeted her husband, "*Ma Leitua, kua malolo nakai a koe, ma Togia? Aefe e nove, ma Togia.*" (Oh master, are you well, oh Togia? Show me your foot, oh Togia.) Talamahina showed his foot to his wife, who then said, "*Kua ola te e ho hui, ma Togia.*" (Your foot is better, my Togia.)

Talamahina replied, "*Ko e fakalaukauka he hui, to hake ke ahi he motu ke ahu aki e akau.*" (Dress the foot, wrap it up in kaka leaves and I will go up and visit Motu and slaughter with my club.)

After they had finished talking, the woman went back to her people in Motu. When there she sought Takiula. It was Takiula who betrayed Talamahina to the people of Motu. Takiula asked the woman, "How have you come, and where have you come from?" The woman replied, "*Ko e hau te au ia Talamahina. Ma Takiula, ko e tau aho ni anai, ma Takiula. Ko e tu hane fai e hui he aumata i Vavau. Ti hau ni kai e Motu. Ti ua fakahautoka, ka e kalakalatau. Ti o hake ke tahake e tau akau ke lipilipi aki e kai tagata, neke hau ke moumou e Motu.*" (I have been to visit Talamahina. Oh Takiula, these are the days, my Takiula. For that foot of the enemy at Vavau will stand before long. Then he will come and eat up the people of Motu. So do not hesitate, but prepare for war. Go up and prepare your weapons to smash that cannibal, lest he come and destroy Motu.)

The people of Motu at once prepared for war, and they went to Vavau to prevent the escape of Talamahina, whose troops were scattered. After the troops had surrounded his house, a man entered the dwelling. Talamahina thrust at him with his spear and the man fled from the house. Another man entered but was likewise

forced to flee. A third man entered and encountered the same fate. This time, however, Talamahina had reached for some glowing embers and he threw them in the face of the intruder. Then Takiula called out to the troops to pull down the wall covers (*pupui*) of the house. The troops rushed and pulled these covers down. After the interior of the house was exposed they all threw their spears and stones at the interior, and Talamahina was killed.

Presently the troops of Talamahina arrived one by one, but their *toa* was dead. They fought, but it was of no avail since they were scattered (*mamaga*). Many people were killed that day. The story tells that so many people were killed on that battle field of Vavau, that they called it the slaughter (*kolo*) of Vavau. This is indeed true, because human bones (*hui motua*) always come to light when the people plant talo in the field on which Talamahina fell.

It is of interest to date the wars of Lavakula and Talamahina, especially since they are the oldest exact record. The names of Lavakula, Talamahina, and Atemaga are given in the texts as belonging to *toa* of the same period (p. 144). Atemaga had two other known names, Ikinai and Pineki. The name Atemaga was in fact only bestowed upon him after his death, when he was cut open and found to have a double heart and stomach. His family name, that is, the name which was handed down to the male descendants, was Pineki.

In working upon genealogies in Niue I had no trouble in obtaining full information, and ample checks, upon records extending back five generations, that is, to the period of the *toa* Mohelagi and Palalagi. Further back than this period I was forced to rely solely on the research performed by Uea. While I believe that this work was done accurately, the last three generations remain sketchy. Thus I was told that Atemaga had three daughters, one of whom was called Haukina, another Kulaahi, and the name of the third was unknown. All of these daughters bore children and a man from Tamalagau married one of the children. From this pair a girl was born named Tiale Nifo, who later became one of the wives of Palalagi. This records three generations before Palalagi. The five generations existing from Palalagi to the present time might be presented by a great number of lines. To present one of the more interesting lines of descent: Tiale Nifo gave birth to a son named Pineki the second. This man was a noted *toa*, and he therefore was allowed five wives. One of these wives was called Litia. Litia gave birth to Hunuki, who married a woman by the name of Tapaita. The second *patuiki* of Christian times was born from this couple, that is King Fataiki. King Fataiki had a daughter by the name of Aone. Aone then bore a daughter by the name of Kilimana, who is at present about 40 years of age. This genealogy places Palalagi 125 years ago, and Atemaga 225 years ago.

The most famous *toa* after the time of Pineki was Laufoli. According to Uea, this *toa* lived six generations ago. The natives of Liku, the home

of Laufoli, all agree with the assertions of Uea. Smith, however, believes that Laufoli lived before the time of the incident at Anatoga, about 1525, and that he visited the Samoan islands rather than the Tongan. It is unfortunate that the people of Niue have long used the word "Toga" in referring to all things foreign.

The achievements of Laufoli have already been presented by Smith, and only a summary of his material need be given here.

It appears that Laufoli was a noted warrior of Niue, who aroused the envy of the people of Tonga (Tongatapu, according to Uea). One time a party of Tongans came to Niue where they were much surprised to see that the tops of the pandanus trees had been cut off. When the visitors heard that Laufoli had cut off the tops of these trees with his staff they invited him to come to their country and try his skill.

The first test that the Tongans put to Laufoli was the cutting down of a banana tree. A piece of ironwood had been placed in the banana tree so as to make the test more interesting. Laufoli failed when he tried to cut down the tree with his staff at the first attempt. He then held the staff in his left hand and succeeded in cutting down the tree.

The second test was the jumping of a wide chasm, a feat which Laufoli performed with ease. This chasm is supposed to be of volcanic origin. The third test was the climbing up to a cave in which lived Toloa-kai-tangata, or Toloa-the-cannibal. Laufoli came to the cave of this cannibal, and after cutting off his hands, feet, and tongue, he put him to death.

Three days after this feat the people of Tonga made Laufoli climb a high mountain and attack the enemies on top. While climbing the mountain Laufoli was assailed by large and small stones. The large stones he avoided, and the small stones he straddled. When he arrived at the top of the mountain he killed many of the people there, and the others he pardoned.

When this episode was finished the people of Tonga made peace with Laufoli, and they gave him the king's daughter as wife. A girl was born, whom they named Malama. Presently Laufoli had a dispute with his wife, who told him to "shut up" (*fakamate*), and who called him a stranger (*tagata paea*). The words of his wife so angered Laufoli that he returned to Niue.

After Laufoli came back to Niue he gave himself the following names:<sup>25</sup> Toloa, Tapivai (Summit-of-water), Mouga (Mountain), Mougafafau

<sup>25</sup> These names were given to me by Uea. They appear to indicate that Laufoli had visited Tonga. The Tuitonga is mentioned, as well as Taputoga, or Tongatapu. Tapivai has reference to the chasm that Laufoli jumped. This chasm is called Tapivaiafi (Summit-of-burning-water), in a version of Laufoli's songs collected by Smith, thus clearly referring to a volcanic flow. Smith collected two additional names; Togia and Hakeagaiki (The-heir-of-chiefs).



(Built-up-mountain), Tagaloaheiki (Tagaloa-of-the-chief), Tahikona (Bitter-sea), Taputoga (Sacred-toga), Poitoga (Run-toga), Mitiakau (Suck-the-[banana]-tree), Tuitoga, Titimatatoa (The-front-of-the-girdle-of-the-toa.) These are the names which Laufoli gave to his wife: Mataginifale (Wind-in-the-house), Potutagaloa (Corner-of-Tagaloa), Potuhetoa (Corner-of-the-toa).

The manner in which Laufoli met his death was, according to Uea, as follows:

After Laufoli had finished telling about his adventures, he decided to kill himself while he was yet able to rule and before the hands of the people could touch him. So he dug a hole at Tuafutu and he lit a fire resembling the ti oven. After this he sent word to all of his friends to come and do his bidding. After they had opened up the oven Laufoli called out, "Which *toa* will come and push me into the oven?" But everybody was afraid and nobody would consent to do this thing. They all feared that Laufoli would pull the person that came to do his bidding into the oven. Laufoli next cleared a space and performed the war dance. When this was finished he ran and jumped into the oven.

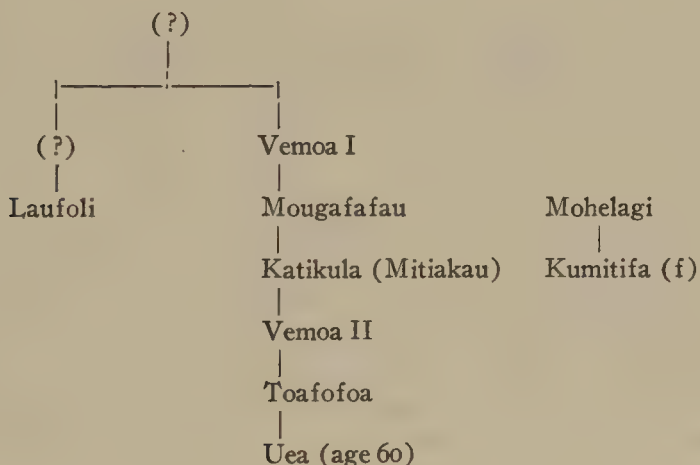
When the oven was nearly cooked it burst open. That is the reason why ti ovens always are liable to burst; it is because the one that Laufoli jumped into burst open. The spot on which Laufoli fell they named Veli (to fall) because Laufoli fell there, and no women or children were allowed to approach the spot; it was tapu.

These were the *toa* who were with Laufoli at the time of his death, and to whom he called out. He especially pleaded with Kulatea, who was afraid. He also called out to Katikula (Mitiakau), Fohiano, Potuhetoa, Potutagaloa, Matalakitifa, and Mougafafau, the son of Vemoa I.

It will be noticed that the story of Laufoli differs in one vital respect from the other war stories of Niue. The accounts of the Niue *toa* are invariably true stories told with little exaggeration, while the story of Laufoli has but a kernel of truth. The high degree of exaggeration displayed in the Laufoli story may be due to its great antiquity. In this assumption Smith would be supported in his belief that the trip to Tonga took place many centuries ago. It is equally plausible to assume, however, that the trip took place about a century and a half ago and that Laufoli merely brought back a story patterned after the prevailing Tongan wonder story of the times. Natives of Niue who take the trip to Tonga at the present day usually come back with a weird account of their travels which they relate with gusto to their credulous listeners. Doubtless this is true since Uea and the people of Liku are better informed concerning their ancestor than was Smith at the time he visited the island.

The following genealogy of Laufoli was worked out by Uea from the information he obtained from the people of Liku.

There were two brothers. The name of the elder brother is unknown, but he was the father of Laufoli. Vemoa was the name of the younger brother, and since he was the first to bear that name he will be designated as Vemoa I. Mougafafau was the son of Vemoa, and hence the cousin of Laufoli. Katikula, later called Mitiakau, was the son of Mougafafau. It was this Katikula who as a boy was present at the death of Lavakula, and it was the same Katikula who later married Kunitifa, the daughter of Mohelagi. Vemoa II was the son of Katikula. Toafofoa was the son of Vemoa II. My informant, Uea, at present about sixty years of age, is the son of Toafofoa. When Uea was a boy of about nine years old, he knew Kunitifa who was then a very old woman and a noted *tula-atua*. To put this in a diagrammatic form.



As further evidence of the recency of the Laufoli incident, it may be added that all of the versions of the story which I received are almost identical with those recorded by Smith. Moreover, the names by Laufoli are still very popular among the people of Liku who belong to his family. There are at present four people in Niue who call themselves Laufoli, but it is said that three of them have no right to the name, since they are not descendants.

The stories of the wars between Mohelagi and Palalagi rest in part on historical occurrences, as these two men lived about a hundred and fifty years ago. Mohelagi was a chief of Liku, while Palalagi ruled in Motu at Tamahavea. The parentage of Mohelagi is unknown. Palalagi is noted for being a deserter from his own country, for he was born from Taiti parents but upon marrying Tialenifo, a Motu girl, he deserted his own people and went over to the Motu side.

At the present day many of the people of Liku are descendants of Mohelagi, while many of North Alofi are descendants of Palalagi through his son, Pineki II. It is interesting to note that the ill feeling occasioned by the ancient wars has not as yet subsided. Both the Motu and the Taiti

people were eager to furnish me with manuscript in support of their respective views.

The original cause of the wars lay in the death of two of Mohelagi's sons.

Mohelagi came once to shoot parrakeets [with arrows] in the bush at Kauhi. He saw two parrakeets, but when he was taking his aim the birds flew off slowly before he could shoot. When the parrakeets were at some distance they commenced pecking at fruit again. Mohelagi followed, but once more the birds took to flight. Mohelagi now no longer thought of shooting the birds, but he pursued them out of anger. At last he arrived under a tuahi tree, on the branches of which the parrakeets were resting. Suddenly he saw something which was concealed under the tree. He cleared away the ferns which lay over the object and found the corpses of two boys lying on the ground. The bodies were already partly decomposed, but Mohelagi recognized at once that they were his sons, and that they had been murdered. . . .

[Great was the misery of Mohelagi because of the death of his two sons.] He searched and investigated and asked questions all over the island, but he was unable to find any traces of the murderer. Then he sent word to Palalagi, commanding him to obtain the teeth of a shark so that he might shave his head [as a mourning rite]. Palalagi replied haughtily, "Where should I find a shark's tooth? Go and shave your head with the claws of a crab."

When Mohelagi received this reply, his anger turned against Palalagi, and he sent him word after this manner, "Keep silent, you coward, or else come and cut a figure for yourself in Tafari!" (*Fakamate, ma pogi na, o tau ki Tafari, ti li ata mai ni i Tafari!*).

Palalagi in turn replied, "Your two parrakeets (children) which were lost have already been cooked and eaten. You have lied, for it was your own follower Kulatea who killed the children of his ruler."

Mohelagi was sorely grieved by these replies, and commanded his troops that they go and fight Palalagi at Ulumago. Mohelagi rejoiced greatly as he prepared his troops. Thus did Mohelagi. Then Mohelagi called out for war [at the council] on the battlefields.

First Palalagi went to Liku, and his troops arrived at Ulumago. When Palalagi heard crying as from the bottom of the waves, he was frightened, for the forces of Mohelagi were very great, and he thought it was voices crying from the deep. It was, in truth, only the white foam on the waves near Ulumago. But Palalagi turned his troops and went to Mataho, Makefu. No war took place at this spot.

When Mohelagi arrived at Ulumago he found that the place had been vacated by the enemy. He, therefore, left none of his troops there, but passed through and met the enemy at Fetiki. Then the fight went against Palalagi, because he had been badly surrounded. Palalagi was finally defeated on that battlefield. One account tells that not all of the troops of Palalagi arrived at Fetiki, because some of them stayed behind at Tukuofe on the road to Liku. Whether this be true, or not, it is certain that the defeat of Palalagi was very great.

There are several stories concerning the troops of Palalagi, who were put to flight that day.



Patutoa and Pulehetoa jumped into a fort (*taue*), which was situated on the top of a fallen tree. When their side was defeated they fled so fast that the skin on the back of their legs was scorched for some time afterwards from the effects of their flight.

One of the *toa* who fled the field was named Toloa. This warrior threw away his club and ran off empty-handed. He ran so hard that he became famished from thirst. So he stripped off the bark of the pala-moupi tree and sucked this, and then his thirst was quenched so that he was once more able to continue his flight.

Tepunua, another *toa* from the troops of Palalagi, found the club of Toloa and was thus able to arm himself. Fortunately for him he did so, for otherwise he would have met the club of Kulatea barehanded. It was this club which enabled Tepunua to escape from the attack of Kulatea and which defeated and killed that perfidious one. Kulatea was indeed accursed, for he was the man who had killed the children of his chief Mohelagi. Kulatea killed the children of Mohelagi without being seen by anyone. Thus had the children of this island met their death.

When Mohelagi left Ulumago to go to the fight he asked for his [third from the eldest] son. "Where is Tagaloahemafiti?" For that boy was in the custom of eating a great deal of his father's food. Then the eldest son, Tagaloailuga replied, "I do not know where he is at present for he went down courting girls at the camping place."

Tagaloahemafiti heard that his father had asked for him, and this hurt his pride [*tuina ai hana loto*, literally, wounded his insides]. So when Mohelagi and Palalagi fought at Fetiki, Tagaloahemafiti ran with his eyes shut to the center of the troops of Palalagi and there fell as an act of suicide. He did this out of anger because his father had asked for him.

After Palalagi was defeated in the battle of Fetiki he turned down to beg for peace (*lui hifo*) from Mohelagi. At the camp of Mohelagi Palalagi broke the *kafika* stick into eleven pieces, and these pieces he bound together and placed upright. This was done for the purpose of keeping the peace, for when the *kafika* sticks were bound no one on the island could engage in warfare. Before declaring war the sticks had to be once more unbound.

After this there was peace between the two chiefs. But the misery of Mohelagi was in no wise healed, for he remembered the fate of his two small boys, and the messages sent by Palalagi, which he considered to be false. Now Mohelagi had two war gods; Fakalagalaga, the inciter, and Fakahokotau, the causer of war. The war was over but Mohelagi turned and asked Fakalagalaga and Fakahokotau<sup>26</sup> what he should do, whether he should go to war, or whether he should relinquish the idea.

Fakahokotau spoke thusly to Mohelagi, "Yes, it is well that you again turn to war, for you will again conquer in the battle." But Fakalagalaga spoke differently. "Do not, Oh Mohelagi," he said, "Do not turn to war, for you have set up and bound the *kafika*. Therefore do not again turn to war. How indeed could you turn to war after you have bound the *kafika*?"

Then Fakahokotau and Fakalagalaga contended greatly one with the other. Finally Mohelagi addressed them both, saying, "Oh Fakahokotau and Fakalagalaga, pleasing indeed are both of your names. As for you, Oh Fakalagalaga, it is from you that comes the mana which incites me to be strong. But as for you, Oh Fakahokotau, it is indeed your mana which brings about the war that I now desire to wage."

<sup>26</sup> According to Uea, Mohelagi spoke to his gods through the medium of his daughter Kunitifa, who had the supernatural powers of a *taula-atua*.

But Fakahokotau replied, "Yes, but when I told you before that you should go to war, Fakalagalaga was grieved. He has conquered, for he is indeed strong. Now I say unto you do not go to the war!"

Then both of the gods departed. But the mind of Mohelagi was firm that he should once more wage war. Before he proceeded to combat, however, he lighted his fires (*tugi maama*). The next morning he arose early and commenced his journey and travelled until he reached his destination. When he arrived there he turned to his house and awakened his children and rubbed their noses in farewell. Then his perils commenced, and his separation from his family was forever. It was thus that the chief Mohelagi went to the war.

When Palalagi heard that another war was about to commence he made a very large spear and laid it down on the field. "Then he called upon all the *toa* of Motu to leap and perform the war dance with the big spear that he had made. All the *toa* tried to jump and dance with the spear, but none were able to do it properly. But there was one *toa* whom nobody had ever taken much notice of before, his name was Helagi, and he was a very skillful player in the game of *tatika*. Helagi stood out in turn and lifted the spear. He heaved with all his strength, and the spear was lifted by his hands. When he danced with the spear he bent it as if it were a cord, for Helagi was the strongest man in Motu. Palalagi gave the spear to Helagi, and he told him to note the man that wore the insignia in the coming fight, and to kill that man with this spear.

The battle was fought at Mougakelekele. Mohelagi fell that day on the battlefield, pierced by the spear of Helagi. It was Helagi who afterwards boasted, saying that he had eight times been wounded by the spears of the enemy; but it was a lie for he escaped unscratched.

Some years afterwards Helagi became outlawed, and was forced to live alone in the bush. The troops of the island sought for his hiding place, and when they found him they killed him and spread his intestines around a group of trees.

When Mohelagi had fallen in the battlefield, Fakalagalaga was deeply grieved, and he sang a song as a funeral gift to Mohelagi. The moment that the god started to sing his song everyone in the conquering party fell down to the ground in reverence.

Ti nonofo a mutolu hinai i,  
Kae hifo au ki Toga, kau toka tau mai  
ai.

Uea ke hake haku vaka,

Uea ke hake haku vaka,

To uea ke hake he vakatau ke ulua.

Niue Fekai ulua ke mokulu ki moana,  
Veli atu ai mo e ha lalu iki,

Ka e toka e motu nai maku,  
Uea ke hake haku vaka.

Ti hola hifo ai a Fakalagalaga ki Toga,

You will stay here,  
But I will go to Toga, leaving the war.

I prophesy that my canoes will come  
back,

I prophesy that my canoes will come  
back,

I prophesy that I will come back as the  
leader of a war fleet.

Niue Fekai will drop down into the sea,  
It will be destroyed together with its  
chiefs,

But the island will be left for me,  
I prophesy that my ships will come  
back.

Then Fakalagalaga will flee to Tonga,

Mo e nofo ai ke taute ai hana tau mana.	He will remain there in order to prepare his mana.
Kua hoko hana tau mana kehe motu.	Then his mana will arrive at the island.
Ti hake mai a ia kua hu tuai e mana ia Palalagi.	Then he will come back and his mana will fall upon Palalagi.
Kua kau fakalataha tuai a Fakalagalaga mo Makapuelagi.	Then Fakalagalaga and Makapuelagi will be as one.

After this battle Palalagi fell back and went by the western path to Aliutu. There he was beaten, and there commenced his perils. He was a man that was always beaten, but he never gave up, for he always returned again to the war.

The story of Palalagi is almost as interesting as that of Mohelagi. The ancestry of both Palalagi and his Motu wife are known two generations back, eight generations in all. This is the most complete genealogical table that I was able to obtain in Niue.

After the death of Mohelagi his relatives fought against the troops of Palalagi, and a feud ensued which lasted down to the coming of Christianity. So bitter and so recent were these wars that many of the natives of today believe that Palalagi was the first man to start warfare on the island. This tradition is of course absurd, but it shows how traditions of origins quickly take root among elementary people.

The next battle that Palalagi fought was at Tafagu. He was beaten in the battle and wounded by a spear thrust. Many of his men also were killed. As soon as Palalagi recovered he fought on the battle field of Talikifea, where he was again beaten. He kept on fighting, however, because he wished to set up a *patuiki* from among the *toa* of his troops, and thus to bring the island under his rule.

The next battle field was at Mamalava. Palalagi had his customary ill fortune forcing him to take refuge among the stones at Makapapa. He and his troops were at the point of starvation in this fort because they were unable to break open the coconuts which they had brought with them for fear that the hostile troops might hear the noise. They finally devised a scheme of cutting the coconuts into pieces with sharp stones. A song was afterwards composed about this event:

Tili kapi maka mo hehele niu.	Cut with a sharp stone and slice coconuts.
Hehele niu to motu a fe?	Cut coconuts, but cut them when?
Ka e ku ko e hoge ha ne fai.	Because of this the hunger was short.

Presently a *toa* from Lakepa, named Hiligutu, came to the fort. The people in the fort were so frightened by this time that when Hiligutu



greeted them he found their noses as cold as ice! Hiligutu remained with Palalagi and fought by his side until the time of Palalagi's death.

A battle was then fought at Tukuofe, where Palalagi and his troops were forced to flee; Palalagi saved himself only by his swiftness in running. His troops rebelled after this flight, and Palalagi was forced to plead with them in order that he would not be deserted.

Palalagi then fought against his own relatives at Fetuna. He was afterwards accused of having killed women and little children in that place. Some people even say that he ate some of the members of his own family, but this is evidently a false accusation.

The final battle of Palalagi took place at Fugahehake against troops lead by Kalomahina and Likalika of Tafari. A tradition relates that Likalika instructed his men to beware of the club of Palalagi, and not attempt to guard themselves by holding their club horizontally over their heads. One *toa*, Hautupu, disobeyed the instructions. The club (*katoua*) of Palalagi smote down on the club of Hautupu and, breaking this, cleaved the head and body of Hautupu so that the two halves fell in different directions.

Palalagi was later killed on the same battle field. A warrior named Naea defiled the face of the dead Palalagi with urine, and his body was cut into small pieces and scattered in the bush. This did not end the wars, however, for in the next battle Naea was killed by the avengers of Palalagi.

It appears that when a war started between Motu and Tafari it might last for fifty years. But most civil wars within these two districts were of short duration. For example, Mutalau once came down and raided Tuapa, killing three Tuapa chiefs. Tuapa then prepared to go up and fight against Mutalau. When the people of Mutalau heard of this proposed retaliation, they sent an embassy to Tuapa bearing gifts. The embassy knelt at the feet of the leaders of Tuapa and offered the gifts. These were accepted and the feud was at an end.

## RELIGION

## STORIES OF CREATION AND ANCESTRAL GODS

Two types of creation story are found in Niue, possibly brought to the island by two different migrations, as Smith has point out—one, the legend of the father, Maui Matua, and the son, Maui Tama; the other the story of the gods Fao and Huanaki.

## THE MAUI LEGEND

According to the Maui legend, it was the younger Maui (Maui Tama) who was the benefactor of man. It was he who lifted the heavens and thus permitted man to walk upright, and he who brought up fire to the upper world and placed it in the core of the banyan tree. The elder Maui (Maui Matua) is depicted, however, as being an enemy to mankind. He hindered Maui Tama's endeavors to bring fire to the upper world, and attempted to cast a blight upon the food of the island. It may, therefore, be asserted that in the Niue version of the Maui cycle is a form of dualistic religion, the conflict of good spirits and evil spirits over the destiny of mankind, which has arrived at a form of development comparable to the Greek Prometheus legend.

## HUANAKI AND FAO

Completed texts of the story of Huanaki and Fao have been translated by Smith. According to this version of the creation, five gods—Fao, Fakahoko, Huanaki, Lageiki, and Lagiataa—fled from Fonuagalo (the lost country) because they had been slighted at feasts. When the gods arrived at the spot where Niue now stands, Fao was able to place one foot on dry land, but his other foot remained insecurely waving in the air. Then Huanaki came along, and completed the work that Fao had left undone. After this the other three gods came down to settle on the island.

There does not exist a complete concordance of opinion regarding the story of Huanaki and Fao. The people of Avatele possess a local variation, which reads as follows:

The gods lived at Avatele under the earth. They did not feed their children because the children were lazy. Then the children became angry and came up to the dry land. Fao came up first and searched the surface of the ground. Then he worked and tried to make the tides go out, but he could not do it alone. Presently another god [Fakahoko?] came up, but he did not work. Then Huanaki came up and helped Fao in making the tides go out, and that is the reason why there are waves in

the sea to this day. After the waters had receded, some of the people still stood on one leg, but the greedy gods stood on both legs. The names of the children were Huanaki, Fakahoko, Lagi-atea, and Hatulia.

Afterwards the women came up, but they were all eaten by a conger eel. Then Hatulia waited for the eel and chopped it up into four pieces. It was Huanaki who sang this song,

Afou tavalu ke talai  
Aki a toke.  
Ki noa nofo fakaoti a ia,  
Hu he lalofonua a kua  
Moui mai.

I waited with the axe  
To chop up the eel.  
Now the women are gone forever,  
If they had stayed under the earth  
They would still have been alive.

The slaughter of the female gods (*tupua*) by the eel is an added incident in this version of the story. As told elsewhere on the island, the female *tupua* merely followed the male *tupua* to the island. A more important alteration lies in the coming of the *tupua* from below the earth (*lalofonua*) instead of from Fonuagalo.

Smith believed that Fao and Huanaki were the names of the deified emigrants to Niue. He, therefore, in accordance with his usual methods of investigation, made inquiries in surrounding islands concerning the names Fao and Huanaki. Now apart from the fact that many, if not most, of the gods of Niue are not deified ancestors, but rather animated natural objects, the mention of the lower regions of the earth, as being the place of emigration of the *tupua*, seems to discredit any historical significance that the myth might otherwise afford.

## THE GODS

### THE GREATER GODS

Like the Samoan, the Niuean mythology includes the four words, *atua*, *tupua*, *aitu*, and *agaaga*. Nowadays the word *atua* is commonly used to designate the Christian God in the heavens, "*Atua he Lagi*," while *tupua* is used to designate all the heathen gods, including Tagaloa. Both *aitu* and *agaaga* have been made use of in the Christian religion, the Holy Ghost bearing the appellation "*Agaaga Tapu*," while the souls of dead people, or ordinary ghosts, are called *aitu*. The early missionaries were either native Samoans, or Niue natives who had been instructed in Samoa. The question therefore arises as to how many of these words were introduced by the native missionaries from Samoa.

When the white missionaries first came to Samoa they found the conception of "God in the Heavens" already in the mythology of the Samoan people. This god (*Atua*) dwelt in Pulotu (the Samoan Elysium), and also "*i le Langi*" (in the heavens). It was this god, upon being taken over into Christianity, who, I believe, was brought to Niue. The people of Niue originally had no conception of the superior deities since the word *atua* was



interchangeable with *tupua* in their ancient prayers. The missionaries, however, found one of the nature gods adapted to their teaching purposes—Tagaloa, the rainbow god. Under the guidance of missionary endeavor this *tupua* lost his more colorful attributes, but retained his kingdom in the sky, becoming in short the orthodox Christian "Atua he Lagi." The other *tupua* were not so favorably situated (being located for the most part as reefs and dangerous rocks in the sea) and hence were lost sight of. I do not mean that they are no longer believed in, but rather that they have lost most of their former *lilifu* (respect). No longer do the fishing fleets cast strings of their catch and gaily colored wreaths upon the waters, or utter prayers of supplication to this class of deities. The *tupua* now are referred to as the works of Satan, and have in fact undergone much the same alteration as befell the classical demons when early Christianity converted those venerable gods of antiquity to demons.

The word *aitu* does not occur in the old songs, and the greater part of the ghost cult has sprung up with Christianity (p. 37). The *agaaga*, or spirit of the departed, appeared in the heathen religion alongside of the *tupua* but in a minor role.

The four chiefs gods of the Polynesian race are Tagaloa, Tu, Tane, and Rogo. In Niue, Tane and Rogo are unknown; Tu is indicated by Smith as being an albino god. I heard nothing of this god while at Niue, but I do not believe he could have been of very great importance. The word *tagaloa* in Niue, means rainbow. There can be no question that the rainbow is considered in Niue as the image or abiding place of Tagaloa, who is depicted as being red and white. It was believed that if a person pointed at the rainbow his body would shrivel, and in the ancient songs (p. 52) Tagaloa and the rainbow are identified one with the other. Tagaloa was held to be a mighty god both in war and in dominion of the sea.

Falani, a learned and very aged native of Lakepa, writes:

Koe Tagaloa ka o ke tau, ti liogi pehe, "Monu Tagaloa." Ka velo e tao ti, pehe, "Monu Tagaloa." Koe pihia e tau atua he tau maga kae kehekehe ni e tau atua. Atua takafaga he tahi. Atua fana manu i uta. Atua kaialu.

Ti mahani e tau tagata ke ta e fale, ti faliki e tulana, ti toka ai e atua. Ti kehekehe ni e tau atua, poke atua tamate tama, atua tamate ika, atua kaialu kaiha. Tau atua oti pihia ai maeke he toutou.

When the people go out to fight they pray thus to Tagaloa, "Bless Tagaloa." When the spear is thrown, they call out "Bless Tagaloa." There were village gods also, but they were many different gods; gods who fished in the sea, gods who shot birds on land, gods who cursed.

It was the custom of the people when they built a house to prepare a sacred spot in it (by spreading out a mat) and put a god on it. There were various gods, such as gods for killing children, and gods for killing fish, and gods who caused people to steal. There were so many gods that we cannot count them.

Several statements in this quotation are worthy of note. In the first place, all of the gods of the island are referred to as "atua." In the information which Smith obtained from the Patuiki Fata-a-iki, Tagaloa was referred to as *tupua*. Granting that Tagaloa was of greater importance than other deities, most of them being mere village gods, yet it does not follow that he belongs in a different class, for the terms *tupua* and *atua* are interchangeable in Niue.

In examining the nature and functions of some of the *tupua* to determine whether they also are deified ancestors or are personified objects of nature, it is evident that Tagaloa was not a Niue ancestor, but that he was brought to the island and then identified with the rainbow. Tagaloa was the most generally worshipped of all the gods on the island, as the following native account shows.

The chief god of the island in the olden times was Tagaloa of the sky. The people thought that they had to perform the proper rites to Tagaloa before starting on any undertaking. They wished that Tagaloa should be entirely on their side. They wanted Tagaloa to help them.

Tafiti said, "Come, Tagaloa, and be with our troops and help us to fight with the Motu people and conquer them." The same thing was true of Motu; when they went to war they called upon Tagaloa to come down to their troops and help them to victory so that when they went to war with Tafiti they would be the conquerors. A native says:

Tagaloa was a god who was near to the island, and Tagaloa blessed all things. If a man stumbled suddenly in battle, he called out "Pardon me, Tagaloa!" Then he was firm and did not fall down to the ground. He also called out "Help me, Tagaloa, Help me, Tagaloa!"

Motu and Tafiti had the same god, Tagaloa. Tagaloa was very tapu in former times, no one could point at him with his finger, lest his body rot because he had pointed at Tagaloa. Tagaloa was a very tapu god.

#### LOCALIZED AND LESSER DEITIES

The following is a partial list of the village gods:

- Avatele, Lua (Blow-hole?), a war god
- Fatiau, Namuefi (Sweet-smell), a war god
- Hakupu, Fitikila (Sun-flower), a war god
- Liku, Fakatafetau (Fighting-while-running), a war god
- Lakepa, Maleloa (Large cleared space), a god of peace.
- Mutalau, Fao and Huanaki
- Hikutavaki, Mahinatumai (Rising-moon), a peace god; the rising of the new moon was an omen of peace
- Tuapa, Tuvaiua, a peace god
- Makefu, Falekaho atua (Reed-house-of-the-god); a wicked god who killed people
- Aliutu and Tamahamau (Tamakautoga), Tapuakiu (Plover-bird, a messenger) and Tapualagi (Plover-bird, a messenger from the sky); good gods, who brought gifts.

The lesser gods that sprung from Huanaki and Fakahoko are listed as follows:

Aleloloa (Long-tongue), an Avatele god who lived at Tēpa.

A story of Aleloloa and his friends Futimotu, Futifonua, and Fuluhimaka [Shift-the-rocks] relates that when Aleloloa heard that there was plenty of food on the island and that the people were feasting, he would suddenly put out his tongue and draw in all the food from the island, and the four gods would then eat. Then a famine would occur on the island, because all the food was gone. Aleloloa had drawn it all in. These were the gods who licked up all the food on the island and therefore there was always a time of hunger.

Anoanotau (Different-colored-clouds-of-the-sky) Liku god; not invoked

Fakakonaatua, meteors and thunder (The-poisoner-of-the-gods), prayed to before battle to poison the gods of the enemy.

Fakalagalaga (Inciter) Liku war god

Fakapaete (Stand-and-go), Aliutu god; prayed to by one at whom a stone is hurled but is missed

Fialele (Like-to-fly), Liku god, ruler in the cliff

Fitihulugia (Gives-light-to-buds-on-trees), not invoked

Fotokia (Make-afraid), Fatiau god; a god in the reef

Futimotu and Futifonua (Lift-up-the-island and Lift-up-the-land), Avatele gods; prayed to in time of hunger

Gutufolo (Mouth-of-the-sea), opening in the reef, Tuapa god, invoked when fishing

Halapouli (Dark-road), Hakupu god; invoked when throwing the *tika*

Havilia (Fallen-leaves-blown-by-the-wind), Liku god

Kainono (Eat-insects), Hakupu god; eats insects off trees but not invoked for this purpose

Lageikiua (Laga-iki-the-second), Lakepa god

Lagihalulu (Thunderbolt-in-the-sky), Liku god, bad luck god

Lagihulugia (The-dark-blue-color-of-the-sky), Liku god, not invoked

Lagiloa (Long-sky, or Clear-sky), not invoked

Lagiofa (Large-gift), invoked for help in war

Lagitaitaia, a god of Hikutavaki with a striped body, functions same as those of Liavaha

Lavakimata (Hiapo-hat), Hikutavaki god, a special elongated hiapo hat worn in war and fishing to bring good luck

Lelegoatua (Tapu-spot), spot in Mutalau where gods gathered

Leomatagi (Voice-of-the-wind), god of Hikutavaki, the god who captured the winds and put them in cave, prayed to for good winds

Liavaha (Over-the-horizon), Hikutavaki, a fish god, made the seas calm after a hurricane

Luafakakana (To-go-right-down-to-the-bottom-of-the-sea), an Avatele god, prayed to to drive all other gods to the bottom of the sea

Luatotolo (Lua-who-crawls), functions the same as those of Luafakakana

Luatupua, apparently the same as Lua

Makahopokia (Jumping-stones-on-water), a Liku god; invoked in this game

Makapoelagi (Carries-far-the-stones-in-battles), a Liku war god; a god that dwelt in the sky.

Manatafetau (Mana-in-gathering-for-war), Liku war god

Monomonotagatu (Shell-necklace), this ornament worn for the god

Puefou, Tamakautoga god of drought

Tafehemoana (Rules-over-the-sea), the most powerful god of the sea after Lage-iki



- Tagaloa fafao (Rainbow pushed in), God implored to counteract influence of Tagaloa-motumotu
- Tagaloa fakaolo (Rainbow-stretched-out), Liku god; the rainbow when very bright; a good sign
- Tagaloa tatai (Near-rainbow), younger brother of Tagaloa fakaolo with the same functions
- Tagaloamotumotu (Spotted-rainbow), Aliutu god; god of bad luck
- Tagaloapuipuikimaka (When-the-rain-comes-it-breaks-the-stones), a fishing god.
- Talimainuku, a god of Liku; a sea god
- Taomaga (Double-headed-spear), Alofi war god
- Tapakaumatagi (Wings-of-the-wind), Lakepa god, ruler of winds
- Tapatu (Mana-for-standing), war god
- Tapatulele (Mana-for-fleeing), war god
- Tapatutau (Mana-for-war), Liku war god
- Taufeleleaki (Fly-from-side-to-side), a war god that flies from side to side in a long war
- Teele (Quick), Tamakautoga, war god
- Teukulatapu (Honorary name for iki, or chief), Hikutavaki god, ruler of family affairs
- Tufula (Hoi-without-water), Tamakautoga god; invoked when sweetening the *hoi*.
- Tulagamomole (The-place-where-he-stands-is-slippery), Liku god; invoked to make opponent slip; also indicates dangerous places on reef
- Tumatekula (Stand-and-die-gory), war god
- Tutau (Stand-in-war), Aliutu war god
- Ulutupua (Head-of-the-god), Mutalau god

Local gods were invoked when the districts which they controlled were entered, as the following native account shows,

Fiti was a ruler of Avatele in the olden days. It was his custom to fish at night with torches. Once he went down with the fishermen on the eastern side of the island. Then he prayed to his gods, Tagaloa Fakaolo, and Tagaloa Fafao, and he caught many fish. Afterwards he decided to go up and fish with the people on the western side of the island. This time he prayed to the following gods: Lageiki, Takanā Atua, Tafehemoana, Uliuli, Papatoka, and Lua Tofufu to come and give him some fish. Then he caught many fish. It was because his gods gave them to him.

Many of the *tupua* were mischievous, either by nature or upon occasion. It is written of the gods of Avatele:

There were male gods and their wives, Tia and his wife Hokohoko, Kalua and his wife Tagaloamotumotu, Kolua and his wife, Tagaloatatai. There were some other women deities, Tagaloafofoa, Tagaloauluulu, and Tagaloalahi. These gods were friendly with the winds, and if they agreed to destroy the beaches they carried them away into the ocean [Nukulafalafa, an old name for the ocean].

Often the *tupua* were merely mischievous spirits who played pranks upon mankind. Thus there is the story of a man who returned to the cliffs after an unsuccessful fishing trip by torchlight. After his boy had lighted the fire, the god Roli came and serenaded the fisherman, thus,

Fakakite e hala he motu nai,  
Fakakite e hala he motu nai,  
Nakai fakalataha ke fekiteaki,  
Fakakite e hala kela.

Point out the road on the island,  
Point out the road on the island,  
We do not look for it together,  
Point out the wrong road.

## THE TWO HEAVENS

According to the old Niuean belief, there were two heavens. The second heaven was very sacred and was the home of Hina and her family. There it was always daylight. This place was sometimes called Aho Hololoa and was considered a most pleasant locality.

It was therefore selected by the Samoan missionaries as representing the Christian idea of Heaven, although the Niueans had never thought of Aho Hololoa as being inhabited by the souls of the dead. In much the same way the native Po, or Polynesian Hades, was an importation to Niue.

The following are the female inhabitants of Aho Hololoa, or Motu-a-Hina: Hina; Hina Helekifata (a term of affection); Hina O; Hina E; Hina Kula (The-Red-Hina); Hina Ma; Hina Taivaivai (The-striped-Hina); Hina Malama (The-varied-colored-Hina); Hina Lauulu (The-gray-haired-Hina); Hina Poto (The Wise Hina).

The females of the second heaven were accomplished in making many things—plaiting girdles of hair, of parrakeet feathers, and the *hega-palua*, mixing the different colors of the *hega-tea* (light colored parrakeet feathers) and of the beautiful *hega-kula* (red colored parrakeet feathers).

The second heaven was supposed to be low, and in it to stand the sun, the moon, and the stars. The inhabitants sometimes came down to the earth.

The people of Niue, like all primitive people, are prone to be exacting in the matter of relationships. This exactitude is not limited to mortals, but is often carried on into imaginary environment. Thus a native writes:

Talimainuku gave birth to robbers. He gave birth to Fakatafetau (The-causer-of-war) and Fakalagalaga (The-inciter); these gods were the leaders in war.

Talimainuku lived in Tautu and bore many children. Some of the children lived on the land, some swam in the sea, some flew, and some crawled. Puga (the hero who stole the fish net from the gods) was descended from these gods.

These gods were also the relatives of Huanaki. Tolioatua (Hunger-god) gave birth to thieves. These are the names of his descendants: Nifo (Teeth), Kaihaga (Curse), Kaihamulu (Thief), Atelapa (god of the *kule*), Tilalofonua (god of the *kuma*), Tamalafafa (god of the *lupe*), Tihatala (god of the *tuaki*), Halevao (god of the *peka*), Haliua (god of the *uga*).

The first five gods who came to Niue were Fao, Fakahoko, Huanaki, Lageiki and Lagiata. Huanaki was also called Tuanakinoa (Work-left-undone). He was supposed to be a lazy god, and a great robber. He ruled over the north end of the island at Mutalau. Fao was also a god of Mutalau; he had a good character and was a god of peace. Fakahoko (Cause-to-arrive) was a war god at Liku. Both Lageiki and Lagiata bear bad names in the mythology of Niue because of their wicked customs with

the women of the island. Lagiatea is supposed to be dead. He was a god of indecent form, and died when abusing women.

These five gods bear names unconnected with natural phenomena; in fact the natives themselves believe that they are ancestors. "*Ko lautolu ia ne tupu ai e tau tagata he motu, ti fakahigoa ai, pehe, koe tau tupua a lautolu.*" (From these gods grew the men of the island. The men then gave them names, saying that they were the gods.)

#### TRANSMISSION OF ARTS

The Niueans believed that all their accomplishments had been taught to them by the *tagata tufuga*, or wise people who lived in the second heaven with Hina and her family. Of these there were six: Mele, a goddess wise in weaving; Lata, a god wise in canoe making; Fakapoloto, a god who cut shells for necklaces; Hakumani, a goddess wise in *hiapo* cutting; Matila foa-foa, a god wise in the making and throwing of the *tika*; Muihautini, a god who taught all the other *tagata tufuga*. According to some accounts these wise people were the children of Hina, according to others, the children of Huanaki. When performing any of these arts, the Niueans invoked the support of the deity under whose province the work fell. That their instruction was not always voluntary is shown by the story given by Smith of Puga and his stealing of the fishnet.

#### BIRTH OF MAN

There exist various conflicting stories in Niue concerning the origin of man. According to the well known tradition, translated by Smith, living man was born from the ti tree. It was because of this that pregnant women were fed on ti root. "It is done thus, because the ti is the parent of man, and the child should feed on the fullness of its parent, the Ti-mata-alea; after it is born, then it feeds on its mother's milk" (15 Vol. XI, p. 203).

Another native tradition reads:

The words say that a long time ago on the island of Niue there grew up generations of Lukilo, then there grew up generations of Lomea, then there grew up generations of Ikatea, then there grew up generations that crawled. This is the meaning of these generations, that there grew up the small people of the island following those first generations.

It will be noted how closely this tradition resembles the Biblical tradition, "There were giants in those days."

Still other stories in Niue account for the birth of man. These are less generally accredited, however, and I received no texts for them. One relates that in the beginning all the women lived in Tafiti, and all the men



in Motu. Two of the women started to walk around the island, and meeting two of the men, they married and bore children. This was the way in which children were first born.

Another story accounts for the birth of mankind and the reason why the whale is tapu: "The first woman in the land married the first whale in the seas. This couple bore children, these children are the human race."

Falani's account (p. 159) signifies that idols of the gods were placed in households. The word *tulana* used today to indicate the pulpit of a church, formerly designated the sacred spot in the house where the idol was placed.

The natives told Turner in 1848, that "A long time ago they paid religious homage to an image which had legs like a man, but in the time of a great epidemic, and thinking the sickness was caused by the idol, they broke it in pieces and threw it away" (12). The natives made an image of Huanaki out of stone at Vaihoko (15) and have long been in the custom of "killing the god Limaau" at certain of their dances (p. 125).

Concerning the origin and nature of the gods Falani writes:

Koe tau atua e tau tagata mamate, ka mate e tagata koe aitu, ka mohe ti miti, ti pehe ne kai he atua au ne po. Koe atua e tau mena oti.

The dead people are their gods. When a person dies he becomes a ghost. When people sleep they dream; then they say "A god attacked me last night." All things were their gods.

Here ancestor worship is implied. Were all the gods worshipped, and the souls of dead people elevated to the position of *tupua*? There must be many of the *tupua*, as for example Fao and Huanaki, who lived such a long time ago, that if they ever were actual men the fact has been forgotten. However, there is some definite evidence on this question in more recent times. There is, for example, the story about Fitofito, the man-god: "*Koe tagata, kae fa ui he tau tagata koe tupua.*" (He was a man, but the people called him a god.) The story relates that this man was in the custom of stealing *pia* from the women who were grating it, and that finally one woman, Tuatuavi, deceived him by her meek conduct, then blinded and killed him. Evidently a man could attain the reputation of a god by sheer brutality. There is also the story of Pineki, a famous *toa* of Aliutu, who lived in the beginning of the 19th century. When Pineki fell in battle they split open his abdomen at Aliutu so as to see what caused him to be so strong. His stomach was double, as was also his heart. They took his body to the cave at Anokula, but they took his head and placed it in a cave by the sea at Aliutu in order to tapu the fishing hole. This is why they called him Atemaga (double hearted), but Pineki was his original name." It was the abnormality of having double organs that made Pineki a god; many of the

strong men who lived in his period, such as Mohelagi and Palalagi were never deified. Lage-iki, who was originally one of the *tupua* who came to the island after Fao and Huanaki had completed their work, is now located as a blow hole god in the reef off Alofi. Smith believes that this god was one of the original ancestors who came to Niue, but that in the process of time he was converted into a nature god, or *tupua*.

### THE PRIESTHOOD

Niue always has been devoid of a true priesthood. While a person who is clever along a certain line is said to be *tufuga*, the specialization of labor never progressed to a point where an hereditary system of division of labor, and class organization of labor was affected. It is especially true that these people who were said to be *tufuga* never gave rise to a priesthood class, such as the kahuna of Hawaii.

On the other hand there was a definite class of people who were subject to inspirational spasms. They were called *taula-atua*, or anchors of the gods. The word *taula-atua* is very widespread in Polynesia, corresponding to the *taulo-atua*, or anchors of the gods of Tonga, and the *taua etua* of the Marquesas Islands. Stair (16, p. 70) writes concerning the priests of old Samoa: "The Taula-aitu, 'anchors of the spirits,' from *taula*, an anchor, and *aitu*, spirit, formed the priesthood, and possessed great influence over the minds of the people. They may be classed under four heads; viz.: Prophets or Sorcerers, Family Priests, Priests of the War Gods, and Keepers of the War Gods."

It will be noticed that the Niue word is *taula-atua*, anchor of the gods, and not *taula-aitu*, anchor of the spirits. In the olden days the priests of Niue were possessed by gods (*atua* or *tupua*), and not by ghosts (*aitu*). Today they are possessed by ghosts, and not by the heathen gods.

I think, on the whole, that it is best not to refer to the *taula-atua* of Niue as a priest, but to call him a shaman, thus comparing his functions with the shaman of Siberia. The word used for priests in the Niuean translation of the Old Testament is *eke poa* (gift makers), but this word is evidently of recent coinage. There was no class of people in heathen times who devoted themselves to offering gifts to the gods, but every person on the island performed this duty for himself.

The shamans of Niue were not divided into classes, although every shaman was capable of performing the duties incumbent on his profession; those of bewitching, curing, prophesying, and cursing the enemy. (See 8.)

The *taula-atua* of today is looked down upon by all as being a deceiver (*tagata pikopiko*). This is no doubt due, at least in part, to missionary

teachings. When a native is sick, however, he will go to the *taula-atua* rather than visit the Government doctor. In spite of the general attitude of the people toward the present day *taula-atua*, those of the past are still regarded with awe and respect.

Though the institutions of kingship and shamanism were borrowed from without the island (pp. 24, 26, 167), their peculiar development in Niue may be ascribed to the influence of social and climatic environment.

The *patuiki* is an office peculiar to Niue; its functions are difficult to define. As Resident Commissioner, Smith had an exceptional opportunity to study the activities of Togia, the last *patuiki*. He notes that the native government was in the hands of the *fono*, a council composed of heads of families, and that Togia had little political influence. His duties were religious rather than secular. The evidence collected from various sources shows that the *patuiki* were concerned with sacraments; their function, chiefly a rain-maker. Since the death of Togia, it has proven a measure of efficiency and economy to permit the native and New Zealand officials to take charge of the government and Providence to take charge of the weather. A few natives wish to revive the office of *patuiki*, but I believe it has passed forever.

Concerning the Alaga-vaka, Smith writes:

There was one representative of the king—his agent, as it were—in each village, called Alavaka, or Alaga-vaka, but at a *fono*, it was not only they who attended, but most of the other chiefs also.

In addition to the king, there was an officer termed an Alaga-vaka-ne-mua, or chief Alaga-vaka, who was a kind of Prime Minister, and may be said to have carried on the business of the island. . . . According to Fata-a-iki, there were a number of Alaga-vaka, but one only, the Alaga-vaka-ne-mua, who had access to the king.

Smith further mentions the fact that the *patuiki* had a *hagai* as a minister of lower rank, function unknown.

Now it is quite obvious where the names of these ministers came from. Since every *iki* (chief) had his *alaga-vaka* and *hagai* to aid him in feasts and in war when the system of *patuiki* was introduced, the *patuiki* merely took over an old form of terminology for his servants. It is not known what were the precise functions performed by these ministers of the king excepting in the case of the *alaga-vaka-ne-mua*. This official had in his charge the sacred *tokamotu* or rainmaking fetish of the island (p. 94).

This *tokamotu* was kept suspended on the inner part of the roof of a sacred wooden meshed house at Fatuana. The whole place was very tapu; only chiefs could go there, and they had to receive permission. Any unauthorized entrance to the house was supposed to result in blindness. A fire was kept lighted on the ground beneath the object to keep it warm, for it was the abiding place of Tagaloa, who brought prosperity to the island



and should it become damp, or rough, or covered with spider webs, there would be no rain on the island. It was the mission of the chief *alaga-vaka* to question the king as to the state of the *tokamotu* and report to the warriors. Smith's comparison of the *tokamotu* to the Ark of the Covenant of the Children of Israel, is an apt one. At present a *tokamotu* is supposed to be buried in a cave at Veve, near Hakupu. The following story was given to me:

A man named Hafonua was made *patuiki* by his relatives. All his relatives then paid him great respect and laid the finely woven *tegitegi* mats in his house and on the road which he travelled. His glory did not last for long, however, for presently he stole the girl Puleloto, the wife of his brother Tifonua. Because of this, his relatives cast him aside and would no longer supply him with food. Finally Hafonua fled with his wives and children to Veve. A famine developed on the island because the *tokamotu* had been left behind and had been neglected. This condition induced Hafonua to send two of his sons, Fualave and Fakahuikula, back to Fatuana in order that they might steal the *tokamotu* and bring it to Veve. This famous mission was performed, and the *tokamotu* was once more carefully guarded. As soon as the *tokamotu* was given the proper treatment the rain fell on the island and the famine was at an end. Then Puleloto, the stolen bride, gave a great feast, for the time of plenty was at hand. This is the song that Puleloto composed at the feast. [It will be noted that she assumes the credit for having stolen the *tokamotu*.]

He maama kua hake tala lito,  
Fakahu atu liogi ki ai,  
Monu ti tonu he liogi.

The daybreak is brightening the skies,  
I begin my song,  
Blessed and true is the song.

Koe alito motu mo Toka-motu

It was the core of the island, the *toka-motu*

Ne tamai he lau niu Tefua,

That I brought in the leaf of the coconut tree from Tefua

Ke to aki e motu ki Veve,  
Monu ti tonu he liogi.

To place in the island at Veve,  
Blessed and true is the song.

Hala fakalava mo Lalopeau,  
Ne galulu he poa ne hake mai,

At the cross road to Lalopeau  
The feast of thanksgiving is approaching

Ke toaki e motu ki Kavatonu,  
Monu ti tonu he liogi.

To bless the island at Kavatonu,  
Blessed and true is the song.

The Hafonua whose exploits are related in this story was the grandfather of Peleniti, the aged native mother of the well known Head family. The famine mentioned occurred about a century ago. It was due to this famine that the last *patuiki*, Pakieto, was murdered by the people. The reasons given were that he caused the famine because he was not lawfully appointed by the whole island, being only a king of the east side, and because of his neglect of the *tokamotu*.

Hafonua rests at present in a cave at Veve, and with him is buried the *tokamotu*. There is also buried in this cave the personal possessions of Hafonua, his comb (*hetu*), his adz and his girdle (*kafa*). The secret of

the exact whereabouts of this cave is kept carefully hidden, lest it be robbed of its sacred contents and a curse be brought upon the island.

The coronation ceremony, at which the *patuiki* were anointed, has been described by Smith. In the presence of the assembled multitude, the body of the king was anointed with sweet smelling oil, then one of the senior chiefs dipped the sacred fumamala leaf in oil and with it struck the head of the king three times. The stone on which the king was anointed was called a *pepe* (15, Vol. XI, p. 174):

There are two such stones in the village of Alofi, where Tui-toga and Fata-a-iki, the first two kings of Christian times, were anointed. They are rough flat coral rocks, about four feet high and two feet broad. At Tuapa, about half a mile inland, is another which stands at the east end of an artificial platform (*tutu*) of rough stones about twelve feet high, sixty feet long, and fifty feet wide. At about seventy or eighty yards to the west are eleven seats formed of upright stones with backs to them, where the chiefs (evidently one chief for each of the eleven villages) sat in council with the king.

The single stone at Tuapa is ornamented with shells deeply buried in the coral rock. There are *pepe* also at Paluki, the former sacred city in the center of the island; at Hafata, in the Alofi bush, at Liku and at Hakupu. Thus kings were anointed at each of these places.

After the coming of the missionaries the king made a speech at the time of his coronation, promising good rule to his people. Apparently this was not done in the old days, at any rate no speeches of this nature are on record. (See pp. 52-54 for songs of these kings.)

One of the sacred duties of the kings was to anoint their coronation stone with oil. Whether the king or the people placed the sea shells on the stones is uncertain.

So unimportant was the position of king in olden days that chiefs never aspired to it, for the *patuiki* had to depend upon his own family for support, while the chiefs were supported by their entire village. The *patuiki* also was in great danger of being killed in office in time of draught and famine.

The office frequently went begging for an applicant, as was the state of affairs at the time of Turner's visit, 1845.

Religious usages of old time Niue displayed a truly Homeric simplicity. There was no organized priesthood. Every man was in a way his own priest, since he uttered his own prayers and charms and made his own libations and sacrifices. The head of the family, not the priest, officiated at all important functions. The social organization and physical environment also contributed to this simplicity. Had Niue been blessed with abundant rainfall, evenly distributed over the year, the functions of the *patuiki* and the *taula-atua* doubtless would have been quite different.

## SACRED ANIMALS

Due to the fact that important animals were considered to be the residing places of *tupua*, the people of the island had to obey certain regulations in their conduct toward them. It was important that no one should insult the sacred animals. The old men of the island have a great many stories illustrating the nature of this tapu. Thus a man once upon a time came upon the head of an *uga* and mocked at it. At once his stomach began to swell, and he finally died as a result of his rash conduct. Various stories tell of people who mocked the whale by calling it *Ulu pekepeke* (Scabby-headed-one). The whale always chased the impious person; one whale came inland three miles in pursuit.

The people of Niue were also in the custom of praying to the god of the specific animal that they intended hunting. If they failed to do this they would be unsuccessful in their food quest. The shark was considered especially sacred. Before going shark fishing it was deemed essential to *ole fakamakamaka* (pray most feverently).

Some of the animals excited more horror and veneration, were more tapu than others. From the evidence at hand, I would place the hairy lizard (*moko-la-ulu*), the shark (*mago*, old form *fonu*), the turtle (*fonu*, old form *pu*), and the whale (*tafua*), as the most tapu of the native animals. Women were not allowed to eat any of these animals. Nobody ate the hairy lizard. Some of the men ate the shark, and some did not. It was supposed to stink from the urine of Hina, and therefore taste badly. As far as I could find out all the men ate the turtle and the whale in the olden times. The flesh of the *lakua* (bonito) was tapu to women, as it was supposed to have come into contact with Hina.

The hairy lizard was, and still is, regarded with horror by the natives. I often heard a story related on the island about this animal. A man was angry with his wife, because she was committing adultery. One day he brought her home a dish which he pretended to be fish that he had caught on the reef. The wife ate the dish in the dark. Then the husband informed his wife that she had just consumed a hairy lizard. Immediately the wife commenced to vomit, and soon afterwards died. A variation of the story reads that the husband fed his wife the tapu portion of her lover's body. Perhaps there is some connection between the native dislike for a hairy lizard, and the European attitude towards the snake.

The people of Niue explain their attitude towards the hairy lizard in another way. A story about Matamoko relates that people slept there one night before a fight. By mistake they made a pillow out of ghosts, and when morning came they were all dead, because the ghosts had attacked



them in the night. The reason given for the name was the fact that *matamoto* meant both the face of an insect and a ghost. In other words, the ghosts came in the form of an insect, the hairy lizard. My informant also stated that ghosts were believed to have come in the form of the *moko ta liga*, the golden house lizard. This form of lizard, however, never filled the natives with much fear.

Smith has the following note on the hairy lizard, "In cases of sickness formerly, an offering was made to the gods in the form of the *moko-laulu*, a lizard some eight inches long. The Niue natives, however, have not the horror and terror of a lizard that the Maori has."

The following tradition illustrates the typical penalty incurred for infringing upon the rights of a tapu animal.

There was a *taula-atua* who lived in Aliutu. He told his children that they should go down to the sea and look at the turtle, but that they should not carry it up. That same day the children went to the sea to catch fish from the reef. Then the *taula-atua*, Ikimanogi was his name, saw one of the boys come up from the sea, carrying the turtle on his back. After the boy had placed the turtle on the ground the *taula-atua* spoke to him thusly, "Look at your body." Then the body of the boy commenced to itch, and when he examined it, he found that it was spotted like that of the turtle. This was because the boy had not obeyed his father.

According to one writer the cave swallow *pekapeka* was sacred in the olden days. Due to the fact that the dead were buried in caves, the *pekapeka* was thought to be the soul of the dead, and hence was tapu.

#### SACRED PLANTS

The plants of Niue were also considered to have indwelling spirits. At times of feasts the various foods were called by the names of these spirits.

Smith learned the interesting fact that one of the feast names for the coconut was *ulu-lo-tuna* (head-of-the-eel). This name has reference to the eastern Polynesian story, also found in Niue, of the coconut springing from the head of the eel.

Some plants were more sacred than others. The kava plant was especially sacred. It is certain that kava drinking was at one time introduced into Niue (p. 28). Prior to Christian times the leaves of the kava plant were used in three ways: in a rainmaking ceremony by the *taula-atua*; chewed as a curse before battle; chewed as a curse in the game of *ta tika* (throwing the dart).

A *taula-atua* who wished to produce rain would perform the *kavauha*. That is, he would chew some kava leaves; wrap them around a stone, tying them fast with sennit. He then would throw the stone down a cliff into the sea. The splash of the stone as it fell into the water was thought

to have the magical power of causing the rain to flood the island. Before battle all the men of the troops would chew kava leaves, then spit the residue onto the ground, cursing their opponents. At the game of *ta tika* (p. 117), a man who wished to stop his opponent's *tika* at a certain spot, would chew kava leaves and bury the chewed portion under the ground at that spot.

*Kava* is apparently endemic on Niue. Nowadays the natives prepare the drink for those of the white men who care to indulge, but they do not drink the infusion themselves.

The leaves of the *fumamala* (a species of hibiscus) were worn when the people sang their boasting songs after a victory in battle. These leaves were also used in a *tika* game, as a substitute for kava. The leaves of the *tavahi* tree were sprinkled on the *fai tuga* (the sacrificial grounds); *kafika* leaves were sprinkled on the floors of the houses of chiefs, when the houses were new and before the mats had been laid down.

#### TAPU SYSTEM

It is difficult to isolate the tapu system of any Polynesian people and hold it up for discussion. In Niue, as elsewhere in Polynesia, the native system of tapu was the chief connecting link between the religion and the morality of the people. (I am using the word morality according to the European interpretation of the word.) In Niue, as elsewhere, Christianity came as a means of freeing the people from some of their ancient tapus and of imposing new ones.

Private property is protected by tapus at the present time in Niue. The owner of a *kaina* will tapu his place in order to prevent theft. If a man steals from a tapu *kaina* and becomes aware of the fact, he is likely to die from fear. One method of making a *kaina* tapu is by the use of the *fuluku*, the tongue-leaf fern. The whole plant is pulled up and attached to a stick in the ground. Anybody can do this and thus insure his *kaina* from theft. The *kanai*, a creeping fern, and the *va*, a plant resembling the bamboo, are also used for the purpose of placing a tapu on private property.

The tapu may be used on private property after the accomplishment of a theft; this action is similar to a curse. Thus if a man comes and steals taro and the owner later sees the hole left by the abducted taro, the owner will place a curse on the thief. This is done by placing in the hole a stone wrapped in the leaves of the *kanai* fern. This causes a tumor to develop in the stomach of the thief.

The people of Niue also had the customary tapu laid upon women at the

time of their menstruation. The women at this period were not allowed to cook, grate *pia*, or prepare the wild yam.

There was never in Niue a priest class having charge of the tapus, and it was for this reason that a tapu imposed by common consent of the people upon some object, might soon afterwards be broken with impunity. Thus at one time women and children were made the object of a tapu during the times of war, but this tapu very soon afterwards became neglected.

One *toa* of the island, Talamahina by name, placed a tapu on a large tree. The name of this tree was the *ai*, and its fruit was very luscious indeed. Soon after this the boys and girls of Fitelagi thievishly plucked some of the fruit of this tree. Talamahina saw the children stealing from his tree, and at once started in pursuit. In running, however, he tripped, and falling flat on the ground he pierced his hand on the root of a cane growing on the ground. This made the *toa* very angry, and rising he continued the chase in a vigorous manner. Finally catching the children, he killed every one of them. Because of this slaughter there developed a great war on the island, and many of the warriors were killed, including Talamahina himself. It was for this reason that women and children were placed under a strong tapu. Neither women nor children were killed on the battle field.

Nowadays tapus are placed, for the most part, on those things which are forbidden by the missionaries. The Bible itself is considered as a book of instructions concerning the tapu, and is called *Tohi Tapu*; Sunday a tapu day, called *Aho Tapu*. Infringements of tapus are considered sinful, and as such are apt to bring disaster on both the individual and the community. Thus one big drought on the island was said to be caused by a *papalagi* (white man) killing chickens on Sunday.

The natives have been known to break their tapus, either under the necessity of great stress, or when they could rationalize a fitting excuse. A curious sidelight on the native psychology is given in the following account of a famine undergone by the Niueans when they were taken to work at a guano island (Malden Island, I believe).

The people were taken to live in an island where the birds dwelt, and presently they found themselves in bad straits. Then they worked at catching fish. They ate the fish, and when the fish were finished they ate *gege* (clams), when the clams were finished they ate *uo* (crawfish); when these were finished they ate *fekieki* (described as shellfish with spikes); then they ate *kuku* (another kind of shellfish) and finally they were forced to eat *katule* (centipedes). Then when everything at all edible was finished the people prayed to God that a big fish should be sent from the sea and should be cast on shore for them to eat.

Finally a big fish came, it was a palm whale. But the fish drifted on shore on a Sunday. This made the people contend with each other. Some wished to cut it up at once and eat it. Others wished to leave the fish, and cut it open on the next day, and thus not break the Sabbath. Finally the first group argued in this manner, "Let us cut open the fish and eat it now, because it is a tapu fish as it was sent in answer to our prayers." Thus the argument was settled, and the fish was cut open on the Sabbath. The people lived and were finally removed from the island.



## SACRIFICES

## FIRST FRUITS

The sacrifices of first fruits and offerings, which probably in former days were made to the gods, were later made to the chiefs. The following accounts have been written by natives:

The first fruits of the coconut, banana, and yams were always eaten by another man [than the owner], this was so that the plants would bear much fruit afterwards. It was the same with the yams; when planted on the island, the first fruits were dug up by another man. The first of all the yams were tied up with ti leaves and taken to the chief to be eaten. Then the island was blessed.

O, he po ke uta he futi,  
O, he po ke uta he iki,  
Mena lolo e kai futi meme.  
Ka hifo e ulu tahufe,

Hake e ulu tahufe.  
Kuta-kuta fakahoho  
Koe mena lolo e kai futi meme.

O, we go in the night to take bananas,  
O, in the night we take them to the chief  
It is sweet to eat meme bananas.  
Then we dance and shake our heads  
down,  
Then we dance and shake our heads up,  
Then we jump about and cry out,  
How sweet it is to eat meme bananas!

There are two contributions made every year, one contribution is to gather all the mohuku ferns together. This is called the *lutu*. Another was the *moko-laulu*, the hairy lizard. They killed this animal and hung it up on a white tree, then they sang while giving their contribution to the chief. The ceremony of killing the most sacred animal is found in very nearly every culture area of the world. It has not before come to my attention in Polynesia.

The recognized places of sacrifice in Niue are known as *mata fai tuga*, also called *tutu* (hill). Smith describes them as "more or less flat on top; they are hillocks which present every appearance of being artificial, they would average about 50 to 70 feet long by 20 to 40 feet wide, and are at this date grass covered with houses built upon them." In the olden days no buildings were placed upon the *mata fai tuga*. A stick of *kieto* was placed in the center for the reception of offerings.

The first fish caught was tapu. It was tied to a sapling and hung in front of the canoe. When the fishing party went ashore, they took the fish to the sacred *mata fai tuga*, where the gods dwelt, cooked it, and eating a small portion themselves, they left the remainder for the gods to eat. Women were on no account allowed to partake of the ceremony or eat the flesh of the sacrificed fish.

After the people had made the ti oven, they sang songs on the *mata fai tuga*. In this ceremony they were led by the *taula-atua*. This is the only information I received concerning sacredotal functions of the *taula-atua*.

Another form of sacrifice was the throwing of fish or of wreaths of

flowers when the people became frightened by the supposed sight of a mythical sea *tupua*, or when they passed a dangerous reef which was supposed to be the dwelling place of a *tupua*.

### BLOOD SACRIFICE

My records of the Niue people show that human sacrifice was unknown; that cannibalism never existed as a folk custom; that fingers were not amputated as a ceremonial; that blood letting for the dead existed only in a modified form; and that circumcision was of a survivalistic type.

Two types of human sacrifice are practiced in localities where the custom is in existence. One is the sacrifice of a human being, with the more or less obvious purpose of feeding the dead or gods with the flesh and blood of the victim; the other is the slaughter of human beings that they may act as servants to the dead in the future world. These two customs obviously have no psychological connecting link; they are commonly associated, however, in the same culture areas due to the fact that the practise of either of the customs requires an autocratic form of government. In Niue with its republican form of government, these customs were unknown. Infanticide, the killing of the old, and the killing of the king for neglect of duty were customs found in Niue, but they cannot properly be considered as "human sacrifice." Whether or not a people have practised cannibalism as a custom is difficult to determine. Direct questioning will seldom bring a correct answer (unless, indeed, a denial be the correct answer). The Niueans resent the use of the name "Savage Island" applied to their homeland by Captain Cook ("Savage" is translated as *kai tagata*, cannibal), and are pleased that modern maps of the Pacific make use of the name "Niue."

There is evidence to show that human flesh was sometimes eaten on Niue, but none to indicate that it was eaten as a matter of custom by any great number of people. The only record which indicates that the body of an enemy was eaten in anger is a very old song, evidently composed for a warrior who had been partially eaten by the people of Aliutu. Nobody knows how the song originated and as it contains certain old words, few know how to translate it.

Ko e mate toa he ha?  
Ko e mate toa he kai fakaamu,  
Kai fakaamu e tama Aliutu.  
Ala ke tagi e toa ē.  
Ala ke tagi e toa ē.  
Na ko koe ne kelea ai e toa ne po.

Ala ke tagi e toa ē,  
Ala ke tagi e toa ē.

Why did the *toa* die?  
He died because they ate him bit by bit.  
The people of Aliutu ate him bit by bit.  
Awake to lament that *toa*.  
Awake to lament that *toa*.  
You are the man who betrayed the *toa*  
that night.  
Awake to lament that *toa*.  
Awake to lament that *toa*.

I have collected two stories concerning women who were filled with a desire to eat human flesh while they were pregnant. Both stories illustrate the fact that human flesh was very strongly tapu. One story reads:

A man's wife took sick and refused all the food that her husband brought to her. Finally she forced her husband to kill their two daughters, and bring her their heads. She ate these, and feeling revived, she walked down to the sea. There she ran into the spirits of her children. They came down the road along which she was walking, singing the following song:

Ulu taga ulu atua ne tagi fetoti,

Ne outu ulu taga ulu atua,

Ne tagi fetoti no o atu.

The two heads of the god cry when  
knocked together,

The two heads are filled with the god,  
They cry, knocking together as they  
approach.

This is the meaning of the heads of the gods, that they were the heads of her children, which she had eaten. The woman died at once.

According to the second story:

A woman became pregnant, and in that state refused the fish and birds that her husband brought her. She said that she desired to eat "walking things." So the husband went to a *taula-atua* who advised him to make a snare. The snare consisted of a rope which the husband stretched across the road. He tied one end to a tree, and held the other end himself. Then when a group of people went past he let the rope remain slack, but when a single individual came along he tightened the rope and tripped the man up. The husband killed the stranger and brought the body to his wife, who said, "This is what I like to eat." The wife ate until her body became very large, causing her to give birth to a large child. One day the parents went down to the reef to gather snails, and they placed their child under the pole ladder down which they had descended. Presently the parents looked up from their work, and they saw some coconut husks come rolling down the pole. The parents rushed to the child, but they found a coconut crab devouring its eyes. One of its eyes had already been consumed.

At Tuapa a man named Malau was supposed to have escaped from some cannibals by climbing up a dungheap and gaining the tree tops.

It was the custom in the old days to kill a man by cooking him in his own oven. This form of punishing an enemy was for the sake of disgracing him, and not for the sake of eating his body. Thus there is a story about two rulers, who took turns in casting their servants into a roaring fire. One of the rulers threw all his men into the center of the fire, but the other threw his men over the fire, and thus saved their lives.

Even if all of these stories were indigenous to the island, there would still be insufficient evidence to warrant calling the Niue people cannibalistic. As a matter of fact they always had a great terror of the Tongan people whom they knew, or supposed to be, cannibalistically inclined.

#### BLOOD LETTING AND CIRCUMCISION

The people of Niue were not accustomed to practicing self mutilation in any form. The habit of cutting the flesh at times of joy or mourning, so characteristic of many other parts of Polynesia, was unknown to Niue.



There was no tattooing on the island. At times of death the relatives would come from a distance and engage in conflict with the relatives at whose *kaina* the death had occurred. This was supposed to be for the purpose of punishing the people at home for neglect. Blood would often flow at these encounters, and in this respect the practise might be called a blood sacrifice similar to that found in Tahiti and Fiji

As circumcision (p. 71) was practised in Niue a pretence was gone through of cutting around the end of the penis, rather than making a slash along its length. I have no knowledge that this Jewish form of circumcision was performed elsewhere in Polynesia, although it was common in Fiji. That only a mock form of circumcision was gone through may be accounted for by the fact that in the place where the people of Niue learned circumcision the act was performed by a special caste. Hence the private individual in Niue is afraid to perform the actual rite himself. There are only two other places, of which I am acquainted, where a mock form of circumcision is enacted; among the Hindus of Mysore, and among the Chams of Indo-China. There are individuals among both of these people, who, becoming converted to Mohammedism, have a mock rite performed in order to conform to the spirit of Mohammedan law, even if not to its letter (9). Thus it may have been possible that the people of Niue at one time lived among people, such as the Fijians, who had the Jewish form of circumcision. The people of Niue may have then imitated their neighbors to the extent of performing a mock ceremony.

The fact that the people of Niue are acquainted with bloodletting for the dead, and with circumcision, shows that they must have been in contact with people practicing certain portions of the blood sacrifice complex. It would have been impossible for the Niueans to have had human sacrifice, since their republican form of government gave the people no class with power sufficient to enforce such a custom.

#### SUMMARY

The religion of Niue cannot be dismissed offhand as being mere ancestor worship. The term nature worship might better be employed, for it was those objects of nature which inspired awe, or from which the natives expected to obtain the most aid, which were considered to be governed by *tupua*. Thus the dangerous rocks and currents of the sea, the winds, the moon, the rainbow, and the crashing thunderbolt were all under the province of guiding *tupua* who had it in their power to be either angry or kind to mankind.

But nature-worship is too narrow a term to apply to the religion of Niue, and in search for a better term I would apply the word animism as

originally framed by Edward B. Tylor, not in the sense that the primitive people believed all nature to be alive, but that the savage believed all manifestations of nature, including those of the plant and animal world, to be the receptacles of indwelling spirits. It was these spirits who had to be properly propitiated should man wish to be successful in the struggle with his environment.

## BELIEF IN THE SUPERNATURAL

### OMENS

The people of Niue in the olden times must have had a great variety of omens, but I have been able to record only a few.

They had no special beliefs about the sun, or a sun god or any explanation of an eclipse of the sun (*ko e atagia e la*) that I was able to obtain. They, however, became very frightened at this event, and all went to bed and tried to go to sleep.

When a meteor fell in the direction of Tafiti the Motu people said that somebody in Tafiti would presently die; if it fell toward Motu, the people of Tafiti said that somebody in Motu would die.

Thunder was supposed to be caused by the gods, especially by Maka-poe-lagi. The people of Niue were very much afraid of thunder, but not of lightening. According to a text that I received the *toa* in the olden times did not always receive a thunder storm in a spirit of humility. "Tukumulia [a former chief of Lakepa] was a very savage man. When he heard the thunder (*paku mai e lagi*) and when he saw the lightning flash (*kapa mai e hila*) he thought 'It is the gods who are fighting.' Then he would become vexed and angry, and seizing a club and a spear he went outside and performed the war dance. Then he looked up into the sky and threw his spear at the gods who dwelt there."

The moon (*mahina*) was not identified with Hina (pp. 37, 163). An old chant I have recorded states that the moon was a *fakatino* (image) and the abiding place of Liualagi. Certain omens were taken by the moon.

At the time of the new moon (*pula e mahina*), if the crescent pointed north, it indicated that there would be plenty of food. But when the crescent pointed straight upwards it indicated that there would be a famine. Then the people would clear their plantations of taro, bananas and breadfruit. They did this both at the new moon and also at the full moon (*mahina kau*).

People were very much afraid when they were grating *pia* when the *pia* was frothing. Full moon was the worst time for *nupia*. When the moon was very large it gave a bad taste to the *pia*. There were plenty of people who disobeyed these beliefs, but their *nupia* was never of any use. This is a song that the people used to sing about the moon:

Ti holo, ti holo hifo e mahina,  
 Ke hifo ke tu he kekekele,  
 Ke tu ai e Patuiki  
 Neke pilo e hui he tu he kekekele.

Ti holo, ti holo hifo e mahina.  
 Ti holo, ti holo hifo e mahina.

Slide down, slide down. Oh moon!  
 Come right down and rest on the earth,  
 So that the Patuiki may stand on you  
 Lest his feet get dirty by standing on  
 the ground.

Slide down, slide down, Oh moon!  
 Slide down, slide down, Oh moon!

This song is probably not very ancient, as the words used are not of the very old Niue language. Also it refers to a comparatively new institution, that of the *patuiki*. The idea that the *patuiki* is so sacred that he should not be allowed to stand on the ground is foreign to Niue.

To see an owl (*lulu*) is supposed to be a bad omen. If the owl flies around, it is supposed to predict the death of a relative. This omen is said to be a recent one, and imported from Samoa.

The hairy lizard (*moku la-ulu*), also is considered to be a bad omen. People would kill it under no circumstances, excepting once a year as a sacrifice (p. 174). If they saw a lizard crossing the road they at once prayed to their guardian *tupua* to preserve them from harm. It was tapu to walk across a place over which the lizard had crawled. The breaking of this tapu would cause one's legs or stomach to swell. The *heahea* was a bringer of fair weather. "After it has rained a long time, a certain day arrives when this bird perches on a tree and sings the following song, 'Kui, Kui, Kui.' Then the people say that there is about to be fine weather and sunshine, because the *heahea* has sung this song. After it has rained a long time the people sing this song, 'Kui, Kui, the *heahea*, come out, come out. Oh face of the sun, if the rain does not stop, the sun will be angry, O, O, O.'"

The *tuaki* brings rain. "After there has been a lot of sun and no rain, the *tuaki* goes up to the clouds and sings thus, 'Kolokete, Kolokete.' Then the people know that there is going to be rain soon."

The *pekapeka* also is a rain omen. "When many *pekapeka* come from the caves and dance in the sky the people say that rain will soon fall because the *pekapeka* are dancing. Then indeed the rain falls and the *pekapeka* are the first to rejoice."

The *kiu* is a bird of good omen. Nowadays its voice is supposed to predict the coming of a boat.

The *kalue* also is a bird of good omen. Its cry indicates that there will be plenty of fish in the seas.

The *moho* is a trouble scenting bird. Its cries revealed the approach of an army.

When an army prepared to go to war it sought the omens of animals to determine whether or not it should proceed, for the movements of



animals were thought to reveal the will of the gods. Thus it was considered to be a good sign if the *moho* cried out from the bush from along side of the road. If a *moho* did not cry out from the bush the army was likely to turn back. If a *kuma* ran across the road, the army turned back.

Before a war party started they always took the omens by thrusting a stick in a green coconut. If the juice spurted towards the war party, they would not fight, if the juice spurted away it was considered a good sign.

A shower of rain is considered to be good luck, even to this day. Curiously enough, a sudden shower of rain is called *mana*. Perhaps the explanation of this omen is due to the rainbow which appears at the termination of most sudden showers. This is, of course, Tagaloa. Not all rainbows are thought to be lucky; if the rainbow is spotted it is supposed to represent a different god, and to be an unfortunate omen.

It is a bad omen to hear whistling (*mafu*) in the night. This is no doubt due to the fact that ghosts were supposed to whistle as they approached. Anciently the people were very much opposed to whistling, and they would kill a person who walked in front of them whistling. The people of Tonga are still very much opposed to whistling, but the people of Niue do not mind it any longer. It was formerly a belief in Niue that if a person whistled when he went down to the sea it would cause a high wind.

Sneezing is supposed to be a good omen. It was not thought to indicate possession. When somebody sneezes the people say, "*Tupu ola moui.*" (Long life to you.)

#### CHARMS

The people of Niue, in common with other Polynesians, made elaborate use of charms. The efficacy of charms, also of curses, was thought to be due, in general, to the power which certain words, repeated in standard form, had in compelling animated natural objects to obey the will of the propitiated higher divinities. Prayer (in Niue a chanted formula, *lologo*), can be considered either as a charm or as a curse, depending on whether it was resorted to as an aid in obtaining for the individual the object desired, or whether it was resorted to as a method of molesting an enemy. Along with prayer usually went a sacrifice, or a promise of a sacrifice, to propitiate the higher divinities and thus bribe them over to the individual's side.

The simplest form of charms were worked, however, by what has been called the power of sympathetic magic. That is, there was no need of calling in the higher divinities to obtain a certain result, but by merely

imitating the sought-for objective the final result was believed to be procured.

Thus if a man was chopping wood he would say, "Sh, Sh," to his axe, and thus lighten his work. Sometimes a man would hand over his axe to a second party, saying, "*Tuku ola*" (I give it life), which would make the work easier for the second man. The axes were supposed to be endowed with life, and a man would frequently strike his axe as a punishment for unsuccessful chopping. This was done in the same manner as a "civilized" man is wont to break his mashie in two after the final failure to remove his golf ball from a bunker. It will be noted, however, that the primitive man has at least the justification of logic on his side.

The methods by which the *taula-atua* brought rain to the island are good illustrations of sympathetic magic. This magician either threw a stone bound with kava leaf into the water, or else ordered some one to dive into the water. The desired result was the splash in the water, calling to mind the imitation of the fall of rain.

One charm for the obtaining of water combined an element of sympathetic magic with a direct appeal to Tagaloa: "*Tagaloa io, Tagaloa e. Kua puke e ana ki Faofao. Ia ia e au a heahea.*" (Tagaloa io, Tagaloa e. Fill up the cave at Faofao. I give (?) to the *heahea*.) The meaning of the last sentence is not clear. The *heahea* was thought to be a greedy drinker of water.

When no reference is made to sympathetic magic, the words may be considered as either a charm or a prayer. Thus the following charm chanted by a tika player is for the purpose of making the tika jump:

Tagaloa loloku hifo he lagi, loti mai.	Tagaloa bend down from the sky, bless me.
Ke tamai mo liuliu ho tika, loti mai.	Bring and turn thy <i>tika</i> , bless me.
Fuifui hega hake mai Toga, loti mai.	The <i>hega</i> fly together coming from Tonga, bless me.
Hau ke malolo he tuatua, loti mai.	They come and separate near the coast, bless me.
Ke tamai mo liuliu ho tika, loti mai.	To bring and turn thy <i>tika</i> , bless me.
Kahau ha tika mate atu hina, loti mai.	The <i>tika</i> comes and stops before the mark, bless me.
Toka haku tika neke fakahoania, loti mai.	Leave my <i>tika</i> so that no one will beat it, bless me.
Atuvave kua fakatoka mai nai, loti mai.	<i>Atuvave</i> (a good thrower) is lined up, bless me.
Toka haku tika neke fakahoania, loti mai.	Leave my <i>tika</i> so that no one will beat it, bless me.

The following charm or prayer could be chanted either in *tika* throwing or in war:

Tumai Tagaloa, tumai Tagaloa, o hoo —e!	Come here Tagaloa, come here Tagaloa,
Katu mai Tagaloa, katu mai Tagaloa, o hoo—e!	(When in sight) Come Tagaloa, come Tagaloa,—
Katu mai lagomatai, katu mai lagomatai, hoo—e!	Come and aid me, come and aid me,—

It would appear that charms might be utilized for the purpose of creating a desired effect upon people, especially those of the opposite sex, willing to be experimented upon, as the following story shows:

Kuilagi was a Tafari man from Hakupu. He heard it reported that there dwelt in a cave at Panivaka (Avatele) two women who were especially clever in the beating of *hiapo*. The name of the *hiapo* prepared by them was Uluku.

Kuilagi went and found the two women in the cave, then he descended at once and courted (*lamati*) them. But the two women were angry with him. However Kuilagi was very clever indeed in playing on the double nose flute. So when the women drove him violently from the cave, he fled up above the mouth of the cave, and called down the gods upon the two women, saying,

Ko e atua na, ko e atua na,	Come gods, come gods,
Ko e agaaga na, ko agaaga na.	Come spirits, come spirits.

Then Kuilagi smote melodiously upon his double nose flute, and turned down into the cave where dwelt the two women. However he went right on through the cave to the opposite mouth, continuing all the time to call down the gods upon the two women. [When the women saw that Kuilagi was taking his departure through the rear entrance of the cave] they called out, "Kuilagi turn back, Kuilagi where are you going?"

But Kuilagi had gone crazy (*vikoia*), and he went far away.

After this Kuilagi visited seven caves in turn, staying one night in each of them, causing the one he stayed in on the second night to be called Tu-po-ua (stay-second-night). Another, for similar reason, is called Po-fitu (seventh night). Both of these caves are situated in Avatele. Finally Kuilagi married a Makefu woman, which, the story relates, brought the man back to his senses.

The charms of Niue had to be repeated with the wording exact, else the desired effect could not be produced. This is true of charms the world over. Smith has printed an example of the Niue charm, or chorus song (*lau*) with which the people of Avatele endeavored to raise two rocks at the entrance of their harbor. The first rock was raised successfully by the right application of the *lau*, but the second rock stuck permanently because the people made a mistake in the use of one word.

There was no college in Niue to teach a class of people the correct formula for charms and curses, as there was among the Maori, nor was the knowledge of charms and curses restricted to any one class. Yet it is true that the *taula-atua* were resorted to in such special emergencies as sickness, drought, and the commencement of a war, for they specialized more than other people in magic formulas.



## CURSES

Curses (*kaidlu*) resemble charms inasmuch as they call upon the higher powers of aid, but they differ in purpose. The use of the curse is illustrated by an incident in the life of Lavakula, one of the most famous men of Niue, who lived at the time of Atemaga, about five generations ago.

Moka-tagaloa was the wife of a *toa* in Mutalau, named Foutapu. She was a most beautiful woman indeed. The *toa* were always going to court her; she took notice of some of them, but she denied the others.

There was a *toa* in Aliutu named Lamatoa who went up to court Moka. He first caused her to cry by the playing of his nose flute, and then he went round and around her singing. But Moka refused this suitor and he turned back to Aliutu.

After some time had passed, another *toa*, Lavakula, made his preparations to go up and court Moka. So Lavakula prepared his flute in order to make the girl cry for the second time. When Lavakula arrived at the *kaina* where Moka lived he sought to make her cry, singing,

Kulakukele, he kulakukele, ti fakahela  
mai, ti fakahela mai, ma taga, ma  
taga,

Kulakukele, he kulakukele (sound of  
noseflute), look towards me, look  
towards me, my sweetheart, my  
sweetheart,

Loa nae nae fita hau he mamao, ma  
taga, loa nae.

I have come from far off and am weary,  
Oh my sweetheart,

I have come from far away.

In spite of his song, Lavakula was rejected by the woman. So he went away and was very angry. Then he made a canoe out of kieto wood, it was made to seat six. Next he proceeded to make a *ma-kava* against Foutapu, that he might curse him and go up to his *kaina* and find Moka to kill her.

So he made marks on the tiale blossoms which were in bloom, and he put some feathers of the *tuaki* bird inside of them, then going down to the shore he knelt, and the *ma-kava* being ready, he placed it on his big toe, calling out thus, "*Takina Foutapu iki a Moka kae, faite ai a Moka ke kau kitia.*"<sup>27</sup>

After Lavakula had finished the *ma-kava* he went up to the home of Foutapu. The man was away, having gone down to the sea to catch fish. Then Lavakula killed the wife, and afterwards upon following Foutapu, he caught and killed him. Then Lavakula turned down and fled along the sea path to Aliutu.

A second story illustrates a more simple form of curse:

It was the custom of Puivao to keep a private stock of fish, which he fed himself. These fish he caught by means of a noose, as the fish hook had not as yet been introduced. One day Taula came along in his canoe and started to snare Puivao's fish. Puivao heard the thief scream for joy as he made his catch. Then Puivao knew that someone was stealing his fish, so he cursed him, calling upon his god, Motufolo,

He tagata mate tu. He tagata kolo-  
kolovao. Ke fitikia mai ha kauafo. Ke  
heletia he hui ke velohia ki tahi. Kini-  
tia he akau tato pe. Ke hilo fe lâ  
ne to.

May the man die, the impious one.  
May his line entangle him and twist  
around his legs, and drag him out to  
sea. May he fall and sink with his fish-  
ing snare as the sun goes down.

Then the words of Puivao were true, for the fish took Taula to the bottom of the sea.

<sup>27</sup> This curse is written in such very old language that I could find nobody to translate it. I was told that the curser expressed a desire to go to the house of Foutapu and kill Moka.

## PRAYERS

Three samples of Niuean prayers are given on pages 221-5. They are more elaborate than charms. Their chief features are the direct appeal of the gods, and the recital of the cult duties of the people. These prayers were supposed to be recited with the same formula upon each occasion. Slight differences of texts, however, have been recorded by investigators. The *patuiki* always had a prominent part in the ceremonial utterance of these prayers, but I very much doubt that the *taula-atua* were ever present at the ceremonies. It is certain that the *taula-atua* of to-day are in complete ignorance of these texts.

The present day natives are very fond of singing Christian *lologo*, they have taken over European airs, and assume first, second, third and fourth parts. The people sing their prayers very much in the same spirit as they did of old, partly from pure joy and partly in the expectation of receiving material benefit from the performance of a cult duty. There is considerable individual variation in the credulity of the church members of the present day. I believe that the "lack of faith" that is to be found among the more intelligent of the Niue men may be attributed to four causes. The naturally inquisitive mind of Polynesian races in general; the educational advantages which certain of the men derived from foreign travel during the time of the European War; the unsympathetic mentality of the white missionaries; the absence of an organized priesthood in former days.

The people of Niue have never been morbid on the subject of religious observances. The religious fanaticism of to-day is to be found chiefly among the half castes (brought up under New Zealand customs), and among certain of the white people of the island.

## MANA

The ordinary Polynesian conception of mana is to be found in Niue. Mana was a supernatural element that was contained in the bodies of material objects. Thus spears had mana, providing they had been used successfully in combat. Troops also were said to have had mana if they had a victorious record. Mana was never identified with the gods in such a manner that it could be obtained from the gods by the proper performance of cult duties. However, certain gods were supposed to have mana. Thus if a man had a certain war god as his guardian spirit, and if this man proved to be a successful warrior, then the god was said to have mana.

It is a well known fact that many primitive people often conceive of an abstract quality as having the physical properties of a concrete entity. Thus the scapegoat appears among many primitive people. According to the

“scapegoat” beliefs, sin can be eliminated from a community by its physical transference from the people of a community into the body of an animal or man. This dangerous reciprocant of “sin” is then eliminated from the community. In a similar manner, mana is conceived of as a physical entity, and possession of mana is obtained through physical contact.

Among the Polynesian people mana was usually given by the father to his eldest son, provided the son proved worthy. This was done by some method of physical contact. Among the Maori the son sucked the big toe of his father and thus established the proper connections.

One war incident among the Niue people shows how mana could be given on the battlefield. Vemoa, the grandfather of Uea, and his younger brother, Tupumana, were sorely pressed by the enemy in a night attack. Mitiakau, the father of these two men, saw that they were in danger of their lives, and begged them to flee while he held back the enemy. Mitiakau was old, and hence he considered it a privilege to be able to lay down his life for his sons. “What is the use of living *tuketuke* (like a crab without his legs)?” he asked of his children. So Vemoa, harkening to the words of his father, came and received mana from the aged man. “Then the parent knelt down before Vemoa, and kissed the feet of his child. Then he lifted one of Vemoa’s feet in the air, and placed it on top of his own head, that the offspring of Vemoa should increase greatly, and, becoming mighty *toa*, should live to avenge that night.” Then Vemoa and Tupumana fled from the enemy, but Mitiakau committed suicide among the opposing troops.

The more common method of transmitting mana from father to son was by means of the *fue*, a bunch of fern leaves tied around with sennit, and carried by the leading *toa* of the army. It was supposed to be the container of the mana of the army. Before the great warrior Mohelagi died, he gave his *fue* to his eldest son Tagaloa-i-luga. “Then Mohelagi shifted the *fue* and gave it to Tagaloa-i-luga. He did not hold the *fue* in his right hand, but in his left, and he presented the *fue* with his left hand.” (The customary manner of presenting gifts in Niue was with the right hand, as the left hand was said to be unclean.)

If a man were clever (*tufuga*) in one of the arts of life, such as canoe making or fishing, he would hand down his mana, or skill to his son. It is related that a certain skilled fisherman was very stingy (*lamakai*), and refused to impart his mana to his child.

### MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

The people of Niue believe that there were formerly man-eating reptiles in their country. The name of these animals is at present tapu,



and either the word *ika lahi*, large fish, or *toke*, conger eel, is used for the purposes of description. Three texts refer to these monsters. The first text (p. 158) tells how a sea serpent ate the women at the creation of the island. The second text tells the story of a man who went down to spear fish in the sea when the tide was coming in.

Then when he came up he found a big fish lying in his way. The fish had blocked the way so that he could not find his track to continue his journey. The man prayed to his heathen gods, and so put the fish to sleep. Then the man went up and told the people that there was a big fish lying across the path leading down to the sea. Finally the gods took the big fish away.

According to the third text an *ika kai tagata* (man-eating fish) was in the custom of stealing children off the rear of fishermen's canoes and devouring them. Finally one man returned after his child had been devoured, and killed the savage sea serpent. Then he cut the sea serpent up into little pieces and threw them on the reef. "That is the reason why there are conger eels up to this very day." This belief in sea serpents is identical with the beliefs of the Maori, and is supposed to be a remembrance of mainland crocodiles.

The people of Niue have two names for the white people, *papalagi* and Maui. The word *papalagi*, applied to white people everywhere in Polynesia, needs no local explanation. Nevertheless Uea explained the use of the term after this fashion. He said that when Cook landed he had a turban on his head. Now the people of Niue have a banana called *papa*, which they used to keep under cover so that it would become white upon ageing. This then is why the foreigners were called *papalagi*, because they had their heads covered, and because they were white.

The name Maui is taken from the hero, Maui, who lived in the underworld. Perhaps the people of Niue thought that the white strangers came from this region.

Twins are not regarded as being of extraordinary significance nowadays, and were not in the olden times. Niue women give birth to twins about twice out of five hundred ordinary births. There are no triplets on the island at present, and I gathered no information regarding triplets when recording more than two thousand names in genealogies. Nevertheless I received two stories concerning the treatment of triplets in former times. In both accounts the triplets were destroyed soon after birth, one group was thrown over the cliffs, the other put on a pile of heaped together stones, and left to starve. One of the mothers was said to have been afraid when she became aware that she had given birth to triplets. She would have been quite satisfied, however, to have given birth to twins.

There are five albinos on the island at the present time. The people

treat them with kindness, and indeed would not dare to mock at them, for there is a belief that the mocker would himself be turned into an albino. There doubtless have been many stories accounting for the origin of albinos. One of these is given by Smith (Vol. XII, p. 104). A native recounts another variation, doubtless incomplete:

"Water came forth from a stone. Then two albinos came from the sides of the stone. One came from one side and one from the other. The stone stood in the midst of the water, and the water flowed from under the stone. Tapuili placed the stone in the water."

The people of Niue have several stories concerning people changing to stones. Usually the incident concerns a person who jumps into the sea, and is then turned into a stone. In one story, however, a man upon being pursued by hostile troops changed himself into a stone, and then when the troops had gone resumed his normal form.

### NATIVE MEDICINES

The private family record of Hipa includes a list of native remedies which may be obtained from the present day *taula-atua* of Tuapa. Most of the book is written in a code which employs Roman numerals and Tongan notation and which I was unable to translate. From the parts of the book which I could read, the following prescriptions were taken:

For ring worm. Scrape off the bark of the fetaanu tree and wrap it in a piece of rag. Then rub the ring worm until it is red and apply the ointment. Then break the stalk [the border?] and let the juice run out. Do not allow the place to become moist for three days.

For swollen testicles. Let the juice run out of the milo tree. Treat the same as for ringworm.

For toothache. Six pieces of the *kaka* [the outside growth of the coconut tree]; six leaves of the *uhi*; put them in layers; chew them in the mouth carefully until the mouth is full. It is all right if the medicine drops down to the stomach.

For pain in the head [*maviko*, whirling round or going mad]. The root of the *tiale*, rub the bark, "*kofu lau kaka. Ai ke ma lelei*," squeeze down the nostrils and in the eyes once a day.

For headache (epidemic). Six leaves of the *nonu*, six little fruits of the *nonu*. "*I kai to hono fiti. Kofu aki koga tupenu, tigogo lau ifi*"; squeeze them down the nostrils. Then rub the head with the preparation. Do not swallow the juice.

For tuberculosis. The leaf of the white fue, the leaf of the *vihoa*; beat. Drink the cave water twice a day. Bathe yourself, then prepare the medicine. Anoint, but avoid excess moisture. It is forbidden to wet yourself. The sick man should not eat fats, red things, or bitter things. Do not take anything to the house, tapu. Twelve leaves of the *aloalo*, "*kofu lau kaka tuki*," rub on the stomach.

For boils. Sixteen leaves of the *fualiki* tree, new leaves, chew and spit the juice on the sore. Also good for swelling of the armpit. Spit the juice out and put the remainder of the material on the armpit twice a day.

For tuberculosis (always coughing, but not sick). The branch of the tefifi. Chop, scrape, mix with cave water; twice a day; fill well.

For red and swollen skin. Eight leaves of the polo toga; chew them; put in the leaves of the nonu; rub on.

For diarrhea. Bark of the kahame tree. Bark of the nonu. Scrape, put in the leaves of the kaka, mix with water. Fill a little. If not proper, then scrape the bark of the tete. Put the three together, mix with water. One part kahame, two parts nonu, three parts tete. It does not matter if you leave off the bark of the nonu, but put in the bark of the tete. Take twice a day.

For pain in the stomach. Scrape the uhi and mix with cooked coconut. Fill a little. If not proper, twelve leaves of the ripe kofu, mix with kaka leaves, cook the coconut. Fill a little. Take three times daily.

Preparations of similar nature are widely used in Niue. Many natives receive medicine from the white doctor, and then mix it with their own remedies. I have not tested the efficiency of these cures, but the white people tell me that they are sometimes effective for simple troubles, such as pain in the stomach. Whatever faith I may have had in native remedies, however, was weakened when I heard that "wise women" often received formulae in dreams and then imparted them to the neighborhood.

## MEASURE OF TIME

The name for a year in Niue is *tau*. The people in the olden days were accustomed to start the new year in February. When the poloi tree turned brown the old year was considered finished and when it grew again another year was begun. When this tree bore flowers it was the proper time to plant the *kaina*.

Smith writes, "There are two seasons, or *tau*—i. e., *tau-tuku*, spring time; and *tau-mati-afu*, autumn." The term for month now is *mahina*, and the same as for the moon. The term for week at present is *tapu*, a modern term, taken from the word Sunday, *aho tapu*. It is interesting to note that the term *tapu* is used for week in an ancient story written by Uea. When I questioned this native concerning the supposed anachronism, he replied that the people had a week in the olden times, but that it consisted of ten days. (A week of ten days probably was known in Hawaii [11, p. 200].) The nights of the week were then numbered one, two, three, etc., but were not given names. Uea was not able to tell me the old name for week.

The people of Niue depended more on plant life than on astronomical signs for the timing of their activities. Thus when the *tiale* bloomed they put their *talo* into the ground, and they did likewise when the *hanumea* bore blossoms. Now *talo* is planted all the year around, but it is supposed to be smaller than formerly. The time for grating *pia* was determined by the moon.



The word for sun is *la*; for star, *fetu*. Smith states that Venus, as a morning star is *fetu-aho* and as an evening star, *tu-afafi*, and that many important undertakings, such as the commencing of war, were timed by the morning star. He was able to learn little about the stars, and I doubt if there is much astronomical knowledge in Niue at the present time. I was given the name *Fetu-hulu-heu* for a star which rises just before daybreak. Its rising marked a suitable time for catching *peka* with a net. The following song relates to the Pleiades:

He fuifui mataliki  
Ne fa galo he lagi  
Kua kikila mai.  
Kua holiki, Kua holiki mai.

The group of seven stars  
That disappeared in the sky  
Are shining again.  
The stars shine, they shine again.

The following terms for divisions of the day are taken from the Niue dictionary:

Kua meamea hake e la,  
Mapuna hake e la,  
Hake tūtū e la,  
Punapuna hake e la,  
Fakatafa ti e la,  
Tupou veliveli e la,  
Pale fakatafa ti e la,  
Kua hoko e la ke he aotea,  
Pale tautau hifo e la,  
Kua kelokelo e la,  
Kua to e la,  
Kua huhulu e anoano,

red before sunrise.  
sunrise.  
in the forenoon.  
in the forenoon, later.  
nearly noon.  
noon.  
shortly after noon.  
afternoon.  
afternoon.  
afternoon.  
sunset.  
bright after sunset.

## MYTHS

During my stay in Niue I was able to record the texts of several myths in addition to those published by Smith. For each of these I have attempted to obtain the most complete form to be had and have noted significant variations in versions. In translating the texts I had the continuous assistance of many natives, especially of Uea, who supplied modern terms for obsolete expressions, and of Maka, who helped in the selection of English words to convey obscure meanings. To Miss Ella Head I am indebted for advice and assistance. The three *lologo* on pages 221-5 have already appeared in print, but incorrectly translated. On the following pages the native text of each story is followed in turn by the translation.

## KOE TALA KIA KULE

Koe kule, koe manu ia ne vihiatia lahi he motu nai, moe ita lahi e tau tagata kehe kule. Koe manu kelea lahi he kaiha, malolo lahi e kule he kaiha; kai talo, kai futi, kai to.

Pehe e tala tuai he motu, koe tupua e manu ia. Kua iloilo foki e manu ia, nakai amuamu. Ka pehe e tagata, "Hui loloa, ulu loa, te loa." Ti logona mai ni he vao ne nofo ai. Kua mole mai e tagata he kaina. Ti lele mai mo e kai ai e kaina. Koe ita he amuamu a ia. Kua tapu e kule; nakai amuamu, neke hau ke moumou e kaina.

## THE STORY OF THE KULE

(Written by Tofolia of Tuapa)

The *kule* is a bird that is greatly hated in this island, and the people are very angry with the *kule*. It is a very bad bird for stealing; the *kule* being very apt at stealing, eating taro, bananas, and sugar cane.

An old story of the island relates the following: This bird was a god. The bird was indeed clever, never abusing anybody. However, the people said, "He has long legs, a long head, and long excrement." Then the *kule* perceived that the people were living in the bush, having left their *kaina*. At once he flew and ate up the plantations. He was very angry because they had abused him. Now the *kule* is tapu, and the people do not abuse him lest he come and destroy their *kaina*.

## KEHE KULE MOE VEKA

Ne fa mahani a laua ke nonofo tokoua moe kapatiga. Ti hoko kehe taha aho, ti manatu e Kule ke tufa e ia ha laua a tau mena kai. Ti pehe

e Kule kehe Veka, "Ka lau loloa moe lau leleva moe lau pupuku haku ia. Ka lolo lagoon he malamalaga hau ia."

Ti ita lahi e Veka hakua kelea hana tau mena kai ne age he Kule. Ti hifo agataha e Veka ki tahi. Ti kitia e ia e gege, ti fakatata hifo a ia moe goigoi hana hui kehe tua he gege. Kae ui hake a ia kehe Kule pehe; "Haula ke tamai e hui ke fakaolo he mena e."

Ti hifo e Kule moe fakaolo hana hui ki loto he gege. Ti mapita ai e gege, ti apita ai hana tau hui. Ti hake e Veka kehe feutu moe uhu e ia e lologo pehe; "Tahihokohoko tote, tahihokohoko vave, tutia e Kule ke mate."

Koe magaaho ia kua kamata e tahi ke hoko lahi, kae nakai oti e lologo he Veka. Ti kua kamata e Kule ke galo, hakua hoko lahi e tahi, kako e ulu ni ne toe ki luga. Ti maaki e tau hui he Kule ne mapita he gege. Koe mena ia ne hui loloa ai e Kule.

Ti poi hake a ia, mo e tutuli e Veka ato moua he ana i Ga, ti ihiihi ai he Kule e ulu he Veka. Koe mena ia ne avaava ai e ule he Veka, moe kai mena kelea. Kakoe Kule, kua kai e ia e tau to, moe tau futi, moe tau talo, he vaha nai.

#### THE KULE AND THE VEKA

(Written by Tipou of Alofi)

Now it was the custom of these two birds, the *kule* and the *veka* [crane, now extinct] to live together as friends. A day arrived however, when the *kule* thought that he would divide up their food. Therefore the *kule* spoke thus to the *veka*, "Those long leaves [sugar cane] and those wide leaves [banana] and those round leaves [talo] belong to me; but the rubbish that the flies eat, let that be your portion."

The *veka* was very angry at this, because the *kule* had only left him the poor food. Then the *veka* went down at once to the sea, where he saw the *gege* [large clam]. He came down to it, and rubbing his feet on the back of its shell, sang [a charm] against the *kule* thus, "Come here and bring your legs to stretch against this thing."

Afterwards the *kule* came down and pushed his legs inside the clam shell. At once the clam pressed together, closing up his shells. Then the *veka* came up to the tops of the cliffs, and started his song, "Sea come up a little, sea come up quickly, cover up and kill the *kule*."

Before the *veka* had as yet finished his song, the sea commenced to rise in large waves. The *kule* gradually disappeared as the sea rose, his head alone remaining above the water. This forced him to stretch out his legs, since the clam shells were still pressed together. It is for this reason that the *kule* has long legs.



(When the full tide came in, however, the clam opened up his shell, allowing the *kule* to escape.) At once the *kule* ran up and chased the *veka* until he caught him in the cave at Ga, where he scratched open the head of the *veka*. This is the reason why the head of the *veka* is divided, and he eats rubbish. The *kule*, however, eats sugar cane, and bananas, and talo, even up to this day.

#### KOE TALA KEHE TAU LAGO

1. Koe higoa he taha lago, Lagomotua. Maoa taha higoa.
2. Lago Ui.
3. Lago Mea.

Hoko kehe taha aho, ti taufetoko a lautolu, pehe a Lagomotua kia Lago Ui mo Lago Mea, "Nakai kitia e mua e motu haku." Ti ole e faoa tokoua ke fakakite e motu hana. Ti hola ne Lagomotua ke he vao, kae nonofo e faoa tokoua he fonua. Ati ofo e faoa he tagata ne lologo he hau he vao. Ti fakamumuli agataha a laua mo takahao he motu he Lagomotua, ti kitia atu a laua taha e kavega ne fafa he hau. Ti hafagi ne fai e gutuhala ke fano ai a Lagomotua. Ti ui e faoa tokoua, pehe, "Nakai galo ai e Motu hau, koe Motu hau ko Makatumaui."—Koe tala haia kehe Lagomotua.

Lago Mea, koe mahani hana ka kaiha e tagata, ti vale a ia kae ai logona he tagata hana vale. Ko e lago ia, koe lago teva. Koe fale hana koe tulu-tulu fale. Koe kelea hana fale.

#### THE STORY OF THE FLIES

(Written by Leotuki of Alofi)

1. The name of one of them was Lagomotua, the old fly. (Maoa was another of his names.)

2. Lago Ui, the invited one.

3. Lago Mea, the small fly.

A day arrived when they contended with each other. Lagomotua said to Lago Ui and Lago Mea, "You have never seen my island." Then the two relatives begged him to show them his island. Then Lagomotua flew to the bush, but the two relatives stayed on the land. Presently the two relatives were surprised to hear the song of Lagomotua coming from the bush. They hid themselves at once, however, and watched for the island of Lagomotua. Then when the two saw the single burden that he was carrying, they made the way clear for the arrival of Lagomotua. [When he arrived] the two relatives cried out, "Do not conceal your island, for it is made out of everlasting stones."—This is the story of Lagomotua.

It was the custom of Lago Mea to steal from men, for he was angry at them, although they did not know it. This fly was a lazy fly. His house was a makeshift coconut leaf house. It was but a poor house indeed.

#### KOE TALA KEHE LAGOU I

Koe tagata uta ogo a ia. Ka fekau he tagata e tama kehe taha fekau vave, ti pehe a ia, "Mua mai a koe, mui mai a lago."

Koe mena fai fakafiliaga e lago ka kaiha taha tagata. Ti pehe, "O mai ke fakatu matalago." Ti taute ka hau e lago ke tu he matalima he tagata ia. Ti kitia ni mogoia koe tagata ia ne kaiha.

#### THE STORY OF LAGO UI

The *lago ui* (cuttle fish) was the messenger of man. When a man sent a boy on a speedy message, he said, "You arrive first, and let the fly follow after."

This was the way in which they made judgment by flies when something was stolen from a man. They said, "Come, let us make a *matalago*." [The laying of the two contestants' fingers on the ground, opposite each other.] The judgment was concluded when a fly came and stood on the fingers of one of the men. Then they knew at once that the man had stolen.

#### KOE TALA KEHE KUMA MOE FEKE

Ko Kuma, mo Uga, mo Kiu. Ne ta e lautolu e vaka. Kua mau e vaka he ta moe taute e lautolu. To lifa e vaka to fefe a lautolu. Ti pehe e tala a Kuma ka lifa ni e vaka ti kakau na au. Pehe a Kiu ka lifa ni e vaka ti lele na au. Pehe a Uga ka lifa ni e vaka ti tomo na au.

Ti o hifo agataha a lautolu ki moana. Ti lifa ni e vaka. Ti lele ni a Kiu, ka e tomo ni a Uga, ka e kakau ni a Kuma. Ti kakau ni a Kuma hoko kehe fatiaga peau, ti teitei mate ni a Kuma. Ti hau a Feke moe tamai e ia e Kuma moe tuku ai ki luga he hana ulu. Ti totolo hake ai e Feke fakatekitekti. Ti hoko hake ki uta, ti liu hifo e Feke ki tahi.

Ti ui hifo e Kuma kehe feke, pehe, "Amo hake la kehe ulu." Ti amo hake Feke hana ulu, kua tapilo tuai he Kuma. Ti ita ai e Feke kehe Kuma ke hoko mai kehe vaha nei.

Taha e lagatau ne fa taute he tau tagata ke moua aki e tau Feke. Ne taute e tau pule kilakila tea. Taute fakavai hui, fakavai lima, fakavai hiku, ke tuga ni e Kuma. Ti tahifo e lautolu moe fakakaukau kehe tahi. Ka kitia e Feke e mena ia, ti fano a ia moe tapaki. Ti moua he tagata Feke.

Koe ita agaia a Feke he tiko e Kuma e ulu hana.

## THE KUMA AND THE FEKE

(Written by Fakalagatoa of Mutalau)

The *kuma* [the rat], the *uga* [a land crab] and the *kiu* [the plover] built a canoe. When the boat was finished which they had prepared, they asked each other what they would do if their boat were to capsize. The *kuma* said, "If the boat capsizes I will swim."

The *kiu* said, "If the boat capsizes I will fly."

The *uga* said, "If the boat capsizes I will sink."

At once they went down to the sea. Then when the boat overturned the *kiu* flew, the *uga* sank, but the *kuma* swam. The *kuma* swam on until he reached the reef, but there he almost died. Then the *feke* came and rescued the *kuma* and placed him on top of his head. Then the *feke* crawled up carefully until they reached the shore [where he deposited the *kuma*] and then he returned again to the sea.

However, the *kuma* called down to the *feke*, "Feel the top of your head!" The *feke* felt the top of his head and found that it had been soiled by the *kuma*. Because of this he became so very angry at the *kuma* that his wrath has lasted down to this very day. [This method of fishing is described on page 96.]

## KEHE TAU LELE, MOE TAU MANU TOTOLO

Ne tau e tau Manu Lele, moe tau Manu Totolo. Ti kautu e tau Manu Lele he falu a aho, ti kautu foki e tau Manu Totolo he falu a aho.

Kae pehe e Peka ka kautu e tau Manu Lele, ti fofola ai agataha hana tau tapakau, ka kautu e tau Manu Totolo, ti fakakite e ia hana tau nifo, moe pehe ko e tau manu fakalataha a lautolu.

Kua kitia he tau manu lele mo e tau manu totolo e lagatau fakavai he Peka, ti vega agataha e lautolu e Peka. Ti nakai maeke he Peke ke evaeva a ia he aho, kae lele tokotaha a ia he po, hakua fakavihia he tau manu a ia, ha ko e hana mahani fakavai.

## THE BIRDS AND THE CRAWLING ANIMALS

(Written by Tofolia of Tuapa)

The birds and the crawling animals fought. Then the birds were victorious some of the days, and the crawling animals were victorious the other days.

When the *peka* (the flying fox)<sup>28</sup> saw that the birds were victorious

<sup>28</sup> There exists another story in the island accounting for the nocturnal habits of the *peka*, according to which the *peka* was summoned to a conference of all the animals on the island, so that the food trees might be divided equally. The *peka* stayed away from the conference, and was punished for his haughty conduct by being forbidden the use of the food trees during the daytime. It is impossible



he at once unfolded his wings; but when the crawling animals were victorious, he showed his teeth, and said that he was the same as they.

Now when the birds and the crawling animals saw through the treacherous scheming of the *peka*, they drove him forthwith from their midst. From that time on the *peka* could no longer go abroad in the daylight, but he was forced to fly alone at night, so hated was he by all the animals on account of his past treachery.

#### KOE TALA KEHE KIU MOE UGA

Kua tala age e Uga ke he Kiu, "Ai kitia e koe au ka fakamumuli." Ti pehe age e Kiu, "Ai kitia e koe au ka fakamumuli." Kua pihia ha laua e taufetoko.

Ti fakamumuli ai a Uga, kua leva. Ti kumi ai he Kiu a Uga. Kua hetuhetu he Kiu e hala ne fano ai a Uga. Ai la leva he kumi, ti fakakite mai agataha e tau nifo a Uga, ti oho atu e Kiu moe tuo e fale he Uga, ati to ni e fale.—Koe mena ia ne tata ai e fale he Uga ka keli he tau tagata.

Kua mole ia, ti fakamumuli agataha a Kiu. Ti kumi ai he Uga a Kiu. Ti nakai kitia. Ti logona ai he Uga e leo he Kiu, "Ha ne kilui hake i lalofonua."—Ti ai kitia foki moe fanauaga he Kiu ai nei, he ai kitia he Uga he tau fakamumuli.

#### THE KIU AND THE UGA

(Written by Falani of Lakepa)

The *uga* said to the *kiu*, "I do not see you when you are hidden." Then the *kiu* replied, "I do not see you when you are hidden." Because of this the two contended together.

Then the *uga* hid, and after some time had past the *kiu* went out and looked for him. He combed the road along which the *uga* had gone. He had not searched long before he perceived the claws of the *uga*. The *kiu* rushed at once and pecked at the *uga*, and the *uga* fell out. This is the reason the house of the *uga* is close to the surface of the earth when people go out to dig for him.

After some time had past the *kiu* hid himself, and the *uga* went to search for him. But he could not find him. Then the *uga* heard the voice of the *kiu*, "*Kil-u-i*, here am I, my voice comes down to the earth." Up to this very day the people cannot find the nest of the *kiu*, because of the time when the *uga* failed to see where the *kiu* had hidden himself.

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to decide which of the two versions of this story is the more orthodox. The first version is almost identical with a La Fontain fable, but I believe it is not indigenous to Niue. The Niueans considered the flying fox a bird.

## KOE TALA KEHE PEPE MOE KUFANI

Koe ua e manu ikiiki, koe Pepe e taha, koe Kufani e taha.

Kua pehe e Pepe kehe Kufani, "Koe koli mitaki a ia." Ka e pehe e Kufani, "Koe mitaki hana a fale." Ti tala age e Kufani kia Pepe, "Ti koli la a koe ke kitia e au?" Ti koli ai a Pepe, ai aoga ha mena, kelea hana koli."

Ti pehe e Kufani, "Hau a ke o ke kitia e fale haku." Kua fano tuai e Kufani, mo e tia e ia e kupega he pulagi. Kua tala age a ia kia Pepe, "Mui mai a koe he puhala kua fano ai au." Ti o ai a laua. Kua mui atu a Pepe he hala ne fano ai a Kufani. Ti vihi ai a Pepe he kupega ne tia e Kufani he pulagi.

Ti mate ai e Pepe mo e tautau ai he kupega ia.

## THE PEPE AND THE KUFANI

(Written by Tofolia of Tuapa)

There were two small animals, the *pepe* (moth) is one, and the *kufani* (spider) is the other. [More accurately, *namulua*, the dancing spider.]

The *pepe* said to the *kufani*, "You dance very well." The *kufani* replied, "Your house is very fine." The *kufani* said to the *pepe*, "Will you dance so that I can see you"? So the *pepe* danced, but it was in vain, for his dancing was very poor indeed.

Then the *kufani* said, "Come, let us go and look at my house." The *kufani*, while departing, spun a web in the air. Then he said to the *pepe*, "Follow after me on the path that I go." The two of them went, and the *pepe* followed on the path through which the *kufani* had departed. But the *pepe* became entangled in the web that the *kufani* had woven in the air.

It was thus that the *pepe* died suspended in the web.

## KOE TALA KEHE PEPE MOE LEFIO

Ti tau fetoko a laua. Pehe e Lefio, "Mitaki e afi." Kae pehe e Pepe, "Mitaki e la." Ti tau fetoko hololoa a laua.

Ati hoko ai kehe taha aho. Ti kitia ai he Lefio e afi. Ti poi taha ai e lefio moe hopo kehe afi. Ti vela ai a ia.

Ti hoko fai kehe taha pogipogi, poi ti e Pepe moe fakalālā kehe la.

## THE PEPE AND THE LEFIO

(Written by Tima of Liku)

The *pepe* and the *lefio* (sphinx moth) contended together. The *lefio* said, "The fire is good." The *pepe* said, "The sun is good." Thus they were constantly contending.

Then a certain day arrived when the *lefio* saw a fire. He flew quickly and hurling himself into the flames, was burned. But the next day the *pepe* flew and warmed himself in the sun.

#### KOE TALA KEHE KALIKA MOE TUNA

Ko Kalika koe manu uta, ko Tuna (Toke), koe ika tahi. Ti nonofo ai a Kalika moe fanau toko lima he magamaga akau i Hauma (Alofi), kae nofo e Tuna i tahi Hauma.

Ti hoko kehe taha aho, ti fekau ne fai e Kalika taha tama ke hifo ke ahu tahi. Ti hifo ne fai e tama. Ti oho mai ne Tuna moe kai e tama. Ti feka'i foki e taha tama ke ua aki, ti kai foki ni he Tuna, tuga moe tama fakamua. Ti leo foki ne matua kua mule e fanau. Ti fekau foki taha ke tolu aki, kai foki ni he Tuna. Ti leo foki e matua, kua mole e fanau. Ti fekau foki e tama ne fa aki, ti kai foki he Tuna, ti leo foki e matua, kua mule e fanau, ti fekau e tama ne toe, ti kai foki ni he Tuna.

Kua oti tuai e fanau toko lima ha Kalika he kai he Tuna. Fa e tama ne hao mitaki kehe gutu he Tuna, ka koe tama fakamui kua folo e ulu kae toe e tau hui.

Ti leo moe tali e matua he fanau, kua mule, ti hifo ni kumi poke higoa e mena kua mule ai e fanau i tahi. Ati hifo kua oti tuai e fanau he kai he ika. Ti tagi ne fai a Kalika moe ole kehe Tuna ke fakamomoui hana fanau. "Piko na au kua mule haku fanau he fagota. Ati kua ofomate au koe oti ni haku fanau he kai e koe, ma haku kapitiga nae!"

Ti ole ne fai a Kalika, pehe, "Fakamolemole ti mai haku fanau to hake au ke fai e galue kehe motu haku, to finage a koe ke kai."

Ti taute ne fai e laua e maveheaga. Kua mau ti fakalualua mai ne fai he Tuna taha e fanau he patu kua moui.

Ti fakaue ni, "Ti mavehe o hake a maua ke kai he galue, to liu mai au ke ahi to o hake." Ti fakaue ni he Tuna kehe maveheaga.

Kua o hake tuai a Kalika moe tama moe taute ai he galue tuuta. Kua o hake ai a laua moe keli ai e luo i Foumakula. Kua mau e luo he keli, ti liogi agataha e Kalika ke to hifo e uha ke puke ai e luo. Ti tafe mai ne fai e vai mai he vao i Matahe (Alofi), hau pu ki Heai (Alofi), hifo hoko ki Foumakula, ti puke ai e luo ne taute e Kalika moe tama.

Kua kitia e laua kua puke e luo, ti o agataha a laua moe takafaga mai e tau manu vao, moe tau moko kehekehe, moe tolo ai kehe luo vai. Ti kitia ne fai a laua kua olatia e galue, ti hifo agataha ne fai a Kalika ke ahi ia Tuna ke hau ke kai ahi e tuuta.

Ti hake mai ne fai a Kalika mo Tuna. Ti mafiti a Kalika kae fakatuai a Tuna. Kua o hake a laua kua hohoko kehe toafa. Ti tagi na Tuna he



mamao e motu a Kalika. 'Ti pehe a Kalika kia Tuna, "Eketaha mai, fakamalolo fakalahi, kua tata tuai." Ha ko eke pihia ato hohoko kehe motu a Kalika moe fanau. Hohoko kua fakatuai e ao he Tuna he goi he hake, he nakai lata moe malolo hana.

Kua hohoko tuai kehe tuutaga, ti fakakite ne fai e Kalika moe tama e galue. 'Ti fiasia ne Tuna moe hifo kehe luo vai, moe kai moe fiasia. Kae loto kelea a Kalika ke mate aki e Tuna he kai hana fanau.

Ti kua kai ne fai a Tuna he galue, ti hoko kehe vaha ne to ai e tau la kehe motu, ti mamiti e vai ne taute e Kalika, ti maha. Piko a Kalika kua mamao tuai a Foumakula moe tahi, mo piko a Kalika to mate a Tuna. Ka tavakelo fano na Tuna he luo ati pu hake ki luga, fakakopa hifo pu ki Tufukia (Alofi), hifo hoko kehe hana motu.

Koe Tuna koe ika veliveli, ka koe poaka he fakavai e Kalika, ati paka afio ai hana ao.

#### KALIKA AND TUNA

(Written by Tipou of Alofi)

Kalika was a land bird, and Tuna was a conger eel from the sea. Kalika and her five children went to live on top of a tree at Houma (Alofi). Tuna also lived in the seat at Houma.

One day Kalika sent one of her children down to get some water from the sea. When the child arrived at the water, Tuna rushed out and swallowed it. Then Kalika sent the second child, and Tuna likewise ate him. The mother waited for the children, but when they were late, she sent the third child. Tuna ate this child, and then the fourth child and finally the fifth and last child.

The five children of Kalika were all eaten by Tuna. There were four children that had been properly swallowed down the gullet of Tuna, but only the head of the last child was swallowed, the feet remaining suspended in the air.

The mother waited expectantly for her children, but since they were all late, she went down herself to find out if anything had detained them at the sea. When she arrived there all the children had been eaten up by the fish. Then Kalika cried and begged Tuna to let her children come to life again. "I thought that my children were delayed by trying to pick up shells and crabs, I am shocked indeed to find that you have eaten them all up, Oh my friend!" This was the manner in which Kalika cried.

Then Kalika begged again, thus. "Please be kind and let me have my children. Then I will go up and prepare you a feast on my land, and you can come up and eat it."

Finally the two made out a plan. After it was agreed upon Tuna threw out the child that still lived. The mother then thanked Tuna, "We will now go up and prepare the feast, I will come back and tell you when it is time for you to come up." Tuna then approved of their plan.

Kalika and her child went up and prepared the meeting feast. They proceeded to dig a hole in the ground at Foumakula. This being dug, Kalika prayed for the rain to fall down and fill the hole. At once the water flowed out from the bush at Mataho (Alofi), came right down to Heai (Alofi), and reached Foumakula, where it filled the hole that Kalika and her child had made.

When Kalika and her child saw that the hole was filled, they hunted to obtain food, such as birds and various insects. These they threw in the hole which was filled with water. Then seeing that they had prepared a sufficient feast, Kalika went down to summon Tuna to the banquet which had been prepared.

Then Kalika and Tuna came up; Kalika walked rapidly but Tuna walked slowly. In coming up they arrived at a cliff, whereupon Tuna complained that Kalika's land was too far away. But Kalika replied to Tuna, "Come along and be brave, my place is quite near." Thusly they proceeded until they arrived at the home of Kalika and her child. When they finally arrived at the place Tuna was making but slow progress, and his side was sore, for he had but little strength.

Arriving at the meeting Kalika and her child exhibited the feast. The eel was satisfied, and gliding down into the pool of water ate with joy. But Kalika wanted very greatly to kill Tuna because he had devoured her children.

After Tuna had finished eating there came a time of drought on the island and the water which Kalika had prepared dried up, and the pool became empty. Kalika wrongly thought that since Foumakula was far from the sea Tuna would perish. But Tuna crawled around until he reached the top of the hole, then he escaped and came to Tufukia, and from there went down to his sea.

The eel was once a round fish, but when he was deceived in this manner by Kalika his front side became flattened.

#### KOE TALA KEHE MATUA MOE FANAU TOKOTOLU

Kua hoko kehe taha aho, ti toka ne fai he matua e fanau he loto kaina, kae hake ne fai kehe vao. Ti tala age e matua kehe fanau, "Ke nonofo a mutolu fakatekiteki to liu mai au, ka kitia e mutolu taha manu kua hau kehe kaina, ti toka, neke muamu e mutolu."

Ti liu mai e matua kua galo tuai taha ia lautolu. Ti huhu age e matua kehe

fanau ne toe, "Koe ha ne galo ai taha ia mutolu?" Ti pehe age e fanau, "Ne hau e taha manu, tu he akau koe fa, ti amuamu ne mautolu a ia, ti lele mai moe uta taha ia mautolu." Ti iloa ni he matua koe lulu e manu.

Ti taute ai he matua e lagatau. Kua puipui e ia e fale ke malu, ti tamai e ia e fanau ne toe moe toka ai he gutufale, koe fakamumuli a ia. Ti talaage e matua kehe fanau, "Ka liu mai e manu, ti amuamu e mua a ia."

Ti lele mai ne fai e manu moe tu he fa, ti tala age ne matua kehe fanau, "Amuamu! Amuamu!" Ti amuamu ai he fanau, pehe, "Lulu mata popoko!"

Ti pehe mai e lulu kehe fanau, "Ko mua aua mo hai"? Ti pehe e matua, "Amuamu fakalahi!"

Ti oho mai e lulu, ti oho atu e matua moe tapaki e lulu, moe hio e ulu. Koe mena ia ati gutu ku ai e lulu.

### THE FATHER AND HIS THREE CHILDREN

(Written by Leotuki of Alofi)

Once upon a time a father left his three children and went out to the bush. Before he went he told his children to stay quietly at home until he returned, and if they saw a bird approaching they were not to mock at it.

When the father returned home one of the children was missing. The father asked the two children that remained, "How does it happen that one of you is missing?" The children replied, "A bird came and stood on the fa tree, we called mocking names at him, whereupon he flew at us, and snatched one of us away." At once the father knew that the bird was an owl.

Then the father made a plan, and he covered up the house, concealing it from view. Next he brought the children that were left and put them on the door-way, concealing himself. Finally he instructed the children, "If the bird returns, you two call him names."

Presently the bird flew and stood on the fa tree, and the father called out to the children, "Taunt him; taunt him!" The children did as they were told, calling out thusly, "You hollow eyed owl!"

Then the owl said to the children, "Who are you two with"? But the father commanded, "Goad him on for all your worth!"

At once the owl rushed to the attack, then the father rushed and seized the owl, cutting him on his head.

This is why the owl's beak is short.

### KOE TALA KEHE UGAMEA MOE KIU

Ne pulega a laua ke tufu kehe vai poko hai ka hoko mua kehe vai he eke moana.

Ti talaage e Ugamea ke momohe, to aho to o he mago pogipogi. Ti mohe e



Kiu, kae ala e Ugamea moe toka e fale hana kae totolo a ia moe fano ka koe Kiu ha ne mohe agaia.

Ti ala e Kiu he mago pogipogi ke o, ti fano fakati e fale he Ugamea, kua gati tuai, kua fita he totolo he po fano.

Ti lele ni e Kiu moe fano kehe vai, koe Ugamea hane fai koukou, kua moua a ie e vai. Ti vale e Kiu kehe Ugamea. Ti ui age e Ugamea, "Fano a koe, koe haku motu ai nai."

Koe mena ia ne tu mata maka ai e Kiu, he ai moua e ia ha maga kelekele ke okioki ai he fakamua. Ha koe loto kelea he kapitiga koe Ugamea ne pulega a laua ti fakavai he Ugamea.

#### THE UGAMEA AND THE KIU

(Written by Moleni of Avatela)

The *ugamea* (hermit crab) and the *kiu* (plover) made a plan to race to the sea, the one getting there first was to own the water.

The *ugamea* suggested that they sleep until daylight, so that they could start off in the morning. Then the *kiu* fell asleep, but the *ugamea* kept awake and crawling out of his house (a snail shell) went off while the *kiu* was still asleep.

In the morning when the *kiu* woke up to start the race he looked in the shell of the *ugamea*, and found it empty. The *ugamea* had crawled out and departed during the night.

The *kiu* flew away, but when he came to the water, the *ugamea* was already there enjoying a swim. He had obtained possession of the water. The *kiu* was angry at the *ugamea*, but the *ugamea* called out, "You get away from here, this is my home now."

This is the reason that the *kiu* stands on rocks in order to rest himself, for he could find no place of land on which to rest himself in the beginning.

The *kiu* had proved a bad friend and had deceived him with his plan.

#### KOE TALA KEHE TUGANE MOE MAHAKITAGA

Ti fanau ai hana mahakitaga. Ti hifo ai hana tugane ke feleveia mo ia, ha kua fanau. Ti kua lahi tua e tama he hana mahakitaga nofo he taha kaina kehe e tama. Ti ai koe tama moli koe toke ne fanau ai he hana a mahakitaga.

Ti hifo ai e tugane ke felevia, kua hoko atu a ia kehe gutufale, ti ui age e toke, pehe, "Fano a koe ki fe, koe mate hane fai a koe he kai e au!"

Ti hola ne tagata, ti tutuli agataha he toke e tagata na. Kua teitei moua ti liti hifo he tagata e hetu, ti nofo e toke hetu tu e ulu. Ti tutuli foki, kua teitei moua ti liti hifo e tagata e fakaata, ti nofo e toke fakaata e ulu hana

moe kanano. Ti tutuli foki, kua teitei moua ti fano e tagata moe hopo ki tahi. Ti faliu ai a ia mo maka.

### THE STORY OF THE BROTHER AND HIS SISTER

(Written by Fakalagatoa of Mutalau)

The sister bore offspring, and the brother went to meet her because she had a child. The child had grown up and it lived in a different house. It was not a real child, however, but it was an eel that the sister had given birth to.

Then the brother went to meet his sister, but when he arrived at the doorway the eel called out, "Where are you going, I intend to kill and eat you!"

The man fled and the eel chased him. When the eel had almost caught the man, the man threw down a comb. Then the eel rested and combed its head, and then chased the man again. When the man was nearly caught he threw down a mirror.<sup>29</sup> Whereupon the eel rested and gazed at its head and body, afterwards continuing the pursuit. When the eel had almost caught up again the man went and jumped into the sea. There he turned into a stone.

### KOE TALA KEHE OVAVA MOE KANUMEA

Koe ua e akau ne taufetoko a laua. Koe Ovava moe Kanumea. Kua tala age e Ovava kehe Kanumea, "Mua haku a lilifu he tau akau oti. Loga e tau la haku. Loga moe tau hui haku."

Kua tala age e Kanumea, pehe kia ovava, "Moha e mena fano a koe moe peka ai he tau akau? Koe mena ia ne mau ai a koe."

Ti pehe age e Kanumea kia Ovava, "Ka ko au, kua tu tokotaha na au he pulagi. Ai falanaki au he taha akau."

Koe moli e Kupu a Kanumea, koe tu tokotaha a ia he pulagi.

### THE STORY OF THE OVAVA AND THE KANUMEA

(Written by Tofolia of Tuapa)

There were two trees that contended together. They were the ovava and the kanumea. The ovava said to the kanumea, "I have more to be proud of than all other trees. My branches are very long, and so are my roots."

Then the kanumea said to the ovava, "Why do you go then and cling to the other trees? It is only for that reason that you remain firm."

The kanumea also said to the ovava, "As for me, I stand alone, reaching straight up to the sky. I do not lean on any tree."

The words of the kanumea were true, it stands alone up to the sky.

<sup>29</sup> There were no mirrors in Niue in the olden times. According to the correct version of this story, the man threw down a comb, some oil, and a *titi* (girdle). The eel combed its hair, looked at itself in the oil and put on the *titi*.

## KOE TALA KEHE LUPE MOE PEKA

Ti tau fetoko a laua. Ti tala age a Lupe kehe Peka, "Kelea a koe he ulu hifo ki lalo, kae mitaki au he ulu ki luga."

Ti tala age e Peka, pehe, "Mitaki a koe, kae taha e mena ne kelea ai a koe, koe tiaki hau a punua he fata ne fanau ai. Kae mitaki au he uta haku a punua ka lele."

Ti fakakite ai he Peka hana mahani kehe Lupe. Ti lele ai e Peka moe hana punua ne taū he ao. Ti koke e matua, kae kotiti e punua. Ti mahala ai agataha e Lupe, kae kautu ni e Peka.

## THE LUPE AND THE PEKA

(Written by Fakahuikula of Liku)

The *lupe* (pigeon) and the *peka* (flying fox) disputed. The *lupe* said to the *peka*, "It is poor form the way that you carry your head hung down, but it is splendid the way I hold my head up in the air."

The *peka* replied, "You are well fixed that way. But there is one thing in which you are at fault, that is, you leave your children in the nest in which they are born. My custom is better, for I take my children away with me when I fly."

Then the *peka* showed off her custom to the *lupe* by flying off with her young clinging to her breast. Then the mother cried "*ko-ke*," and the children cried "*ko-ti-ti*." Thus the *lupe* was defeated and the *peka* was victorious.

## KOE TALA KEHE MATAGI

Koe tagata ne higoa koe Leveimatagi ne gahua a ia he vao to talo. Ti hau ne matagi kelekeleu he lotomaala. Ti oho atu na Leveimatagi tapaki mai afi he lau talo, ti tahifo ni tautau he ana i Tautu (Liku).

Koe ua e tama a Leveimatagi, ko Lefeke mo Pupukimaka. Ti tala age e matua kehe fanau, "E mena e, neke fakapakia e mua. Kua fano kehe e matua, ti fano ai e taha tama moe huki e ia e lau talo ne afi aki e matagi. Ti holo agataha e matagi, mo e hifo havili mai i moana. Ko e mena ia ne fa havili ai e motu nai. Ti ui ai he higoa he talo ia he motu nai ko e talo matagi, ke hoko mai ke he aho nai, ha koe lau he talo ia ne afi aki e matagi.

## THE STORY OF THE WINDS

(Written by Uea of Alofi)

There was a man named Leveimatagi who worked in the bush growing talo. The winds came from every direction into the clearing. Then Leve-



imatagi rushed at them, and putting them into a taro leaf, he lowered them down and hung them up in the cave at Tautu (Liku)<sup>30</sup>.

Leveimatagi had two sons, Lefeke and Pupukimaka. The father said to his sons, "This thing here, be careful not to knock against it." When the parent had left, one of the sons came and pierced the taro leaves in which the wind was bound. Then the wind burst out and blew down to the sea. That is the reason why there are winds on the island nowadays. They called that kind of taro on the island "talo matagi" (taro of the winds) because the leaves of that taro were used for wrapping up the winds.

#### KOE TALA KEHE NAMUEFI MOE GUTUPUHIPEAU

Ne mahani a laua ke to kaina, kae kehekehe ha laua tau gahua. Ne mahani a Gutupuhipeau ke to talo hala toafa, kae gahua a namuefi ke to futi hulahula he hala luga. Ti to ni e afa lahi, ti o hake mai e tau peau moe mamate oti e tau talo a Gutupuhipeau. Kae nakae haofia e tau kaina a Namuefi, ne kai a ia moe fiafia. Ti hifo a Gutupuhipeau nofo he mata i Aliutu (Alofi), moe uhu e ai e lologo.

"Tafe au moana, tafe au ki toga, tafe au fonua, tafe au ki toga." Koe kakano, koe mena ia ne tafe lahi ai e moana he mata i Aliutu.

#### THE STORY OF NAMUEFI AND GUTUPUHIPEAU

(Written by Tipou of Alofi)

It was the business of Namuefi and Gutupuhipeau [mouth spurting water, god of the sea] to grow plantations, but they both had different work. It was the habit of Gutupuhipeau to grow taro on the top of the cliff, it was the habit of Namuefi to grow red bananas on the path below. Once there arose a great storm, the waves came up and killed all the taro of Gutupuhipeau, but the plantation of Namuefi was in no danger. He ate and rejoiced.

Then Gutupuhipeau came down to the point of land at Aliutu, and sang this song,

"I make a current in the sea, I make it flow to the south,  
I make it flow to the land, I make it flow to the south."

Because of this song the sea flows swiftly around the point at Aliutu.

#### KOE TUPUA KO LIMAUA

Koe tolu e higoa hana. Ko Limaua mo Gutupuhi mo Fulikovi. Koe hana nofoaga, ko Houma i Aliutu. Ko ia ko e tupua vale, koe tupua fai

<sup>30</sup> There is another cave at Tatapiu, Hikutavaki, which is accredited by the people of the north end of the island as being the original Aeolian cave of the island.

hoana foki a ia. Koe higoa he hoana, ko Fineiki. Ti ua e tama ha laua, ko Fitiutouto mo Kiliutomanogi.

Koe mahani a Limaua koe vale he tau aho oti. Ti pule lahi foki kehe moana. Ti pehe e kupu he tau tagata, "Ke o ke fagai e tupua ke totonu ke o a tautolu ke futi ika." Ti o agataha ne fai e folau futi ika ki Tufonua. Ti uta ne fai e tau talo moe tau niu moe tau fua loku ke he magaho pogipogi, moe tolo hifo e tau mena kai kehe tupua ke kai a ia.

Koe kakano ke totonu e tupua kia lautolu, ke maeke ke o e falau ke futi ika ki Oneiki, Tamakautoga. Ti liliu mai e folau, ti igatia e vaka moe tau tui ika ke age ke kai e tupua ke totonu, ke maeke a lautolu ke totonu ke o mai. Pihia e mahani he tupua na ko Limaua.

Koe tala foki kehe hoana a Limaua, ko Fineiki, moe fanau kua nonofo a lautolu i kaina he tau aho oti.

Ti hoko kehe taha aho, ti tu e ogo ki Vaiola, koe taha mena ia e ne nonofo ai e tau tagata. Pehe e tala kua ua e tama a Limaua mo Fineiki. Ne mua ha laua a fulufuluola moe mitaki. Koe tau higoa ha laua, ko Kiliutomanogi mo Fitiutouto. Ti manatu agataha e taha tagata ke hifo ke fakataka kehe fanau a Limaua. Ko higoa he tagata ko Paete.

Ti hoko kehe taha aho, ti fano agataha a Paete, moe tui e tau manogi moe kahoa. Ti fakatu matagi agataha a Paete. Ti malagai e matagi. Ti hifo agataha a Paete, moe nofo he fugamaka i Houma. Ti hifo agataha e manogi a Paete kehe fonua a Limaua moe hoana moe fanau. Ti pehe e kapu he fanau, "Ne pihia ai e fonua ha tautolu he aho nei he manogi. Ko fe ne hau ai e manogi ia kehe fonua ha lautolu?" Ti tali e tau matua, pehe, "Ai iloa poko fe ne hau ai e manogi ia." Ti nofo na Paete he fugamaka ia. Ti liu hake ni kehe motu ne hau ai.

Ti hoko kehe taha aho. Ti manatu ne fai ke lui hifo ke utavagahau taha tama mo hoana. Ti hifo ni hoko kia Limaua mo Fineiki. Ti ai haga mai e mata a Fineiki ke vagahau mo Paete. Ka e vagahau ni mo Limaua. Ti uhu agataha e Paete e lologo, Pehe e lologo,

"Tania fetu kehe lagi,  
Tania ke tamai mokutiti,  
Mata kua to he tatali.  
Tau tifa e nava e o Fineiki,  
Ke gatiti malie he poi mai,  
Mata kua to he tatali."

Kua moua ne fai e Paete e taha tama mo hoana hana, ko Fitiutouto, ti tahake ni e Paete hana hoana. Ti hake ni kehe motu hana ne hau ai. Ti hifo falua aho moe felevia mo e tau matua fugavai, ti liu ni hake.

## THE GOD LIMAU

(Written by Leotuki of Alofi)

Limaia had three names: Limaia, Gutupuhi (Spurting Mouth), and Fulukovi. His home was at Houma in Aliutu (Alofi). He was an angry god, and he also was a god who had a wife. The name of his wife was Fineiki. They had two children, Fitiutouto and Kiliutomanogi.

It was the habit of Limaia to be angry all the day long. Thusly he ruled mightily upon the sea. The people spoke about him after this manner, "One should feed the god to make him kind, when one goes fishing." When the fishing boats went to catch fish at Tufonua they took taro and coconuts and papaya that same morning and threw them down to the god so that he might eat.

This was the meaning of their being kind to the god, it was in order that the fishing fleet might go and catch fish at Oneiki, Tamakautoga. When the fleet returned, each took their portion and strung the fish that they might give them to the god so that he might eat and be kindhearted; then he would let them pass.

Thus the custom of the god Limaia.

This is the story of the wife of Limaia, Fineiki, and of her children who stayed in their home all the time.

There came a certain day when news was brought to Vaiola, this was a place where some people lived. The report said that Limaia and Fineiki had two daughters, who were extremely beautiful and good, their names being Kiliutomanogi and Fitiutouto. Then one man suddenly decided to go down and court the children of Limaia. The name of this man was Paete.

The day arrived when Paete proceeded to make strings of sweet smelling flowers and necklaces of snail shells. Then the wind arose, it was the south-east trade wind. So Paete went down at once and stayed on top of the reef at Houma. Then the sweet scent (from the flowers) of Paete came down to the home of Limaia, his wife, and his daughters. The daughters (upon smelling this) spoke thusly, "There is no sweet scent like this in our country. Where does the smell come from that is thus wafted into our land?" Then the parents answered, saying, "We do not know where the sweet scent comes from." Paete stayed for awhile on the surface of the reef, after which he returned to the country from which he had come.

Some time after Paete decided to go down and propose to one of the girls and marry her. So he went down and arrived at the home of Limaia and Fineiki. (When he arrived there) Fineiki kept her face turned away, nor would she talk with Paete. It was Limaia who did all the talking. Then Paete sang this song, which went as follows,



“Twinkle star in the sky,  
Twinkle and bring me a beautiful *titi* (girdle),  
I wait for your eyes to look at me.  
The earrings of Fineiki are good,  
As she walks they make a marvelous jingle,  
I wait for your eyes to look at me.”

Then Paete took one of the girls as his wife, the one that was called Fitiutouto. He took her up with him to his land from whence he had come. Some times afterwards he came down again to visit his parents-in-law, but always returned home again.

#### TAHA TUPUA KO ANAANA

Ko e taha tupua ia ne nofo i Aliutu, Alofi. Koe gahua hana koe fagai he tau ika he moana, tuga moe tagata fagai moa. Ti loga e ika ne fagai e ia. Koe tau ika kehekehe he moana.

Ti hoko kehe taha aho, ti manatu a ia ke fano ke evaeva kia Aleloloa moe fanau ko Kaihaga mo Kaihamotu. Koe tupua ne nofo i Tepā. Ti fano ni Anaana moe felevia ai moe tupua na, moe fanau. Ka e toka noa ne tau ika hana. Nakai fai tagata ke leveki.

Ti hoko kehe taha aho, ti fekau ne fai e Aleloa moe fanau ke hau kehe hana fonua ke ahi e tau ika, neke o mai e tau faoa ke kaiha. Ti hau ne fai a Anaana moe ui kehe tau ika ke o mai. Ti fiha ne ika ne o mai. Ti kitia ni e ia kua fai tagata ne hau kehe fonua hana moe kaiha e tau ika. Ti fano agataha a ia moe huhu kia Tuaimaka (koe taha tupua ia) poke kitia nakai a ia ha tagata ne hau kehe hana fonua kua kaiha tuai hana tau ika. Ti tali a Tuaimaka, pehe, “Ai kitia e au taha.”

Ti fano foki a Anaana moe huhu kia Limaua poke kitia nakai e ia ha tagata ne hau kaiha hana tau ika. Ti tali a Limaua, pehe, “E, na kitia e au e taha tagata ne hau hala ia hau.” Ti pehe ni a Anaana, “Ko hai e tagata?” Ti tali a Limaua ko Puivao e higoa he tagata, koe tagata Uhomotu.” Kitia e au e vaka kua holo kapioa he tau ika.”

Ti momoko ne fai e loto a Anaana ha koe tala ia. Ti tutala agataha ne fai a Anaana mo Limaua, pehe, “Ma Limaua, fai logatau nakai a koe ke lagomatai āki au he tau aho ne toe, neke hau foki taha ke kaiha haku tau ika?”

Tali a Limaua, pehe, “E, to lagomatai e au e gahua hau.” Pehe a Anaana, “A fe hau a lagomatai, ma Limaua na e?” Pehe a Limaua, “To hau e tagata, ti maeke kia au ke fakaloa e lima ki mapualagi, ti pihia foki kehe pokoahu. Koe lotouho, to fakatugaki haku a ulu. Ka hau hala lalo e tagata, to alo e au haku lima ke tafea ki mapualagi. Ka hau hala poko

ahu, to alo hake e au e lima ke pe ki uta kehe tau peau. Ka hau e lotoga, to fakatugaki e au e ulu ki luga mo lalo he toka ke tomo hifo, ti mate."

Pihia e fakatutalaga ha laua. Ti fafia agataha e loto a Anaana, moe fano moe fagai e tau ika tuga fakamua. Ka ko Limaua ni ne leveki. Ti hoko kehe taha aho, ti liu manatu a Puivao ke hau ke futi ika ki Halagigie tuga fakamua. Ti kitia e Limaua koe tagata ne hau, ti alo ni e ia hana tau lima. Ti fakatugaki hana ulu, ti tafe moe puna e moana. Ti lali a Puivao moe fakamalolo ke hoko kehe fale ika. Ka kua vave lahi e tafe he moana. Ti liu hana fenoga ki Uhomotu moe manu he ai tuai hoko kehe fale ika, moe moua ai e falu a ika ke lahi aki e tau ika ne kaiha e ia he fale ika Anaana.

Ti koe fale ika ia he tupua ko Anaana ne kaiha e Puivao moe tahake moe fagai e ia he luo i Lalofou he Uhomotu.

#### A GOD CALLED ANAANA

(Written by Leotuki of Alofi)

The god Anaana (Blowhole) lived at Aliutu, Alofi. It was his work to feed the fish in the sea, like people (now-a-days) feed chickens. They were the various fishes of the sea.

A certain day came when he thought that he would walk and pay a visit to Aleloloa (Long Tongue) and his children, Kaihaga and Kaihamotu. These were gods that lived at Tapa. Then Anaana went and he met the god and his children. But he left his fishes alone, there was nobody to guard them.

After a few days had passed Aleloa and his children informed Anaana that it would be better if he went back to his own country and look after his fishes, for the people might have come and have stolen them. So Anaana went back at once, and (when he arrived) he called to his fishes to come. But only a portion of his fishes came. Then he knew that someone had come to his country and had stolen some of the fish. So he went and asked Tuaimaka (Old Stone), who was another god, whether he had seen anybody come to his country and steal his fish. But Tuaimaka answered, "I saw no one."

Then Anaana went and asked Limaua whether he had seen anybody come and steal his fish. Limaua replied, "Yes, I saw one man who came along your road." Anaana said, "What was the name of the man?" Limaua replied that Puivao was the name of the man, he was from Tuapa. "I saw his boat, it was running heavily laden with fish."

Anaana was very angry at this story, so he held the following conversation with Limaua, "Oh, Limaua, will you not make a plan to help me in the days that remain, lest another one come also to steal my fishes"?

Limaau replied, "Yes, I will help you in your work."

"When, Oh Limaau, will you aid me"? asked Anaana.

Then Limaau said, "If the man comes, I will be able to stretch out my hands to the horizon, and to the beach. If he is in their midst, I will move my head from side to side (in order to create a current). If he comes beneath the water, I will paddle with my hands, so that he will be drifted to the horizon. If he comes along the beach I will paddle with my hands so that great waves will roll up to the shore. But if he comes in the midst of the sea, then I will shake up and down with my head, and allow him to sink below and die."

Thus the two made their plans. Then Anaana rejoiced greatly, and he went to feed his fishes as before, for Limaau watched them for him. Some time afterwards Puivao thought that he would go down and catch fish at Halagigie as he had previously done. When Limaau saw that it was a man who was coming he paddled with both of his hands. Then he shook his head and the sea changed into currents and whirlpools. At once Puivao tried with all of his might to arrive at the fishing grounds, but the sea had already changed into swift currents; so he turned around and made back for Tuapa. He mourned because he had failed to make the fishing grounds, and that he had been unable to obtain more fish as large as the fish that he had stolen before from the grounds of Anaana.

Thus it was from the fishing grounds of the God Anaana that Puivao stole the fish, and took them up and fed them in the pool at Lalofou in Tuapa.

#### KOE TALA KIA MAUI MATUA MOE MAUI TAMA

Ko Toga mo Gagi ti fanau e laua e fanau ko Maui Matua mo Maui Tama. (Titikitalaga.) Ko i ne toko e lagi.

Koe mena tokolalo e lagi hili ni he tapunu pia, koe mena ia ne pukofu hifo ai ki lalo e tau lau he pia he pihia he lagi. Kua o fakatolotolo foki e tau tagata he tokolalo e lagi, kae toko hake e Maui ne tokoluga ai. Ne tu taha hui i Tufuki he loto puhala, ti kua maona tuai he tuki he hala. Kae tu taha hui he fahi uta i Fatuana, ti ui ai e mena ia, ko "Hui Maui." Kua mau hana tau hui he tu, ti ui ai a ia, pehe, "Tokoua e Lagi, tokoua e Lagi, totoua e Lagi, totoua e Lagi."

Ati tokoluga ai e lagi he toko e Maui, ka e mau agaia ni e pia he kele-kele.

Ne nonofo a Maui matua moe Maui tama i Matave. Ti momohe a laua he tau po. Ti hoko kehe magaaho pogipogi, ti ala e tama kua galo tuai e matua. Nakai iloa he tama e mena ne fano ki ai. Ti pihia ni he tau po oti.



Kai hoko kehe tupou e la kua liu mai tuai kehe kaina ha laua moe tau mena kai. Kua kai ai a laua nakai iloa he tama poke tamai i fe e tau mena kai hana.

Kua hoko kehe taha aho hau e matua moe tau mena kai, kua kai a laua. 'Ti laua atu he tama e tau mena kai he matua, koe molumai, ka koe tau mena ne age ke kai e tama magugu. 'Ti pehe atu e tama kehe matua, "Ne molu mai ai hau ke ne magugu ai haku"? 'Ti pehe atu e matua, "Tavaki atu kehe la." Uta he tama tavaki kehe la, liuaki mai kai, magugu agaia ni.

Kua mole e aho ia. Kua hoko foki kehe taha aho kua evaeva e tama kehe kaina ha laua. Kua moua e ia taha laukau mohomoho kehe kaina ha laua, kua kitekite ai a ki ai. Kua moua e ia taha manatu fou. Kua uta e ia e laukau mohomoho ia kua fakatatai moe laukau ne pakupaku la. 'Ti nakai tatai. 'Ti tua ha agataha e tama. 'Ti manatu ni tama, pehe, koe matakaki ne fai e au kehe po a magaaho.

Kua hoko kehe po ti momohe ai a laua. 'Ti pehe atu e matua kehe tama, "Koe momohe ne fai a taua." Kua logona he tama kua togolo e matua, ti fano a ia moe ute e malo tuki kehe malo he matua. 'Ti pehe atu e tama, "E, koe momohe ne fai a taua." 'Ti mohepopo taha ne matua, kae nakai mohe e tama, kae mohe alaala ai ia ke matakaki kehe matua poke maga po fe ke fano ai.

Hoko kehe magapo ne hake ai e fetu. Kua matike e matua fano, ti lamutia e malo hana kehe malo he tama, ti ofo e tama, ti logona he matua e tama kua alo. 'Ti ai fano kae liu ne matua mohe. Lagona e ia e tama kua mohe togolo fakavai. Kua amo atu a ia moe vevete e pipi ne tutaki he tama. Koe kua ala agaia e tama, nakai iloa e ia kua ala tuai e tama. 'Ti kua matiki a ia moe fano.

Kua mole atu a ia kua matiki a tama moe mui atu he tua moe matakaki. Kua hoko hifo ki Talimaitoga kua taaki e ia e fukaho moe hifo ai. 'Ti liuaki mai e ia e fukaho ia moe pa aki e gutuhala. Kua kitia maliali he tama hana puhala. Kua finatu e tama moe taaki e fukaho ia ne pa aki e gutuhala, ti mui hifo ki lalofonua. Ne hifo e tama koe matua hane gahua. Kua pukelenoa ne afi he fonua. Loga lahi e tau mena kai he fonua. 'Ti hake ai ia he taha akau fua, koe Kafikakai. Kua kai e ia e tau fua he akau moe fakaamokula hifo e falu a fua kehe kelekele. 'Ti kitia he matua e tau fua akau kua mokula hifo kehe kelekele. 'Ti pehe e kupu he matua, "Miti-kohi kai mokote moumou kulu, toka ke tahake ke kai a mea ki luga."

Kua hifo e tama he akau. Kua oho atu e matua ke he tama moe taumioi. Kua lialiaki he matua e tama moe liti hifo kehe kelekele. Kua matiki hake foki e tama moe taufagatua foki moe matua. Kua lialiaki foki he matua liti kehe kelekele. Kua logona he tama e kelea he hana tino. Kua oho atu foki e matua he tama. 'Ti manatu e tama koe mate hanefai au he keli he matua

haku. Ti fakamalolo lahi a ia ke mahala e matua kia ia. Kua taufagatua a laua, ti toto e ia e matua moe liti hifo kehe kelekele. Ti oho atu e tama moe toto e afi moe liu mai ki luga nai.

Kua kitia e Maui Matua kua kaialo a ia, pehe, "Hifo e halavai uha, hifo e halavai uha, ke palai e afi ke mate."

Fakatu e Mauitama e afi kehe tau akau oti he puhala, kae mate ni he pala he uha. Ti fakamuiaiki ke fakatu atu e afi kehe ovaova i luga nai i Talimaitoga. Ti hake a Maui Matua kua puho lahi tuai e afi, ai maeke ke tamate. Kua vela manunu ai e tau akau oti he afi ia.

Ti kaka oti ai e tau akau ia ke hoko mai kehe aho nai. Ka fano kehe vao moua ne afi he tolo he tau akau ia. Koe higoa he na mena ua ia, koe Katologa taha, ka koe Katuhika taha. Koe tau mena kai he motu ne mitaki lahi kia Maui matua. Koe mena kaialu e ia koe Kanumea. Koe akau lahi e vao, koe taha iki ia tau akau. Koe huamalie hana tau fua. Kaialu a ia ke tafa. Koe atiu taha koe akau tote tupu he kelekele, humelie hana tau fua, kaialu e ia ke tafa.

Koe kape taha kaialu e Maui ke magiho he kano lahi hakoe vaha fakamua tuga ne talo. Koe futi hulahula taha kaialu e ia ke tupou ki luga he fulufuluola he maloku hifo ki lalo. Ti tupou agaia ke hoko mai he hau nai.

## THE FATHER MAUI AND THE SON MAUI

(Written by Manamana of Tamakautoga)

Toga and Gagi had as descendants the father Maui and the son Maui. The son was also called Titikilaga, it was he who lifted up the heavens.

The heavens were at one time so low that the tops of the arrowroot touched them; for that reason the leaves of the arrowroot were pressed down flat by the skies. Then mankind came along crouching below the heavens. [According to another version, the first men were born as maggots.] But Maui lifted up the skies; one of his feet stood in the road at Tufukia, and for that reason there was a break in the road. The other foot stood on the eastern side at Fatuana. (It is seven miles and a bit between where his two feet stood.) These two places are called "The feet of Maui." [The footprints of Maui are still pointed out to visitors.] When his feet were planted firmly, Maui called out: "Support the heavens, support the heavens, take hold of the heavens, take hold of the heavens."

Then high were the heavens through the support of Maui, but the pia still grew close to the earth.

The father Maui and the son Maui lived at Matave. They slept there many nights. There arrived a certain morning when the boy woke up and discovered that his father was missing. This happened after that every

night. When the sun rose, however, the father always came back to the home with some food. Then the two ate, but the boy did not know where the food came from.

One time the father came with some food and the two ate. The boy took the soft food to his father, but the food that he himself ate was hard. The boy said to his father, "Why is your food soft while mine is hard?" The father said, "Dry yours in the sun." The boy dried his food in the sun, but when he took it back and ate it, it was still hard.

After some time had passed the boy strolled over to their home. He found one leaf in the house that was cooked. He looked at this and suddenly thought of a plan. He took the cooked leaf and put it alongside of a leaf that was dried in the sun. They were quite different. At this the boy lost all confidence in his father and he decided to spy upon him that night.

When the night arrived they prepared to sleep. Then the father said that they should both fall asleep, and presently the boy heard his father snoring. The boy then attached his belt to the father's belt. Now, thought the boy, we shall both go to sleep. The father slept soundly, but the boy did not; he slept with his eyes open in order to spy upon his father, he wished to see whether his father would go out that night.

Finally the time of night came along when the (morning) star arose. The father arose to go out, but his belt pulled his son's belt. At this the boy woke up. The father heard that the boy was awake, and he did not go out but he went off to sleep again. When the father heard that the boy was sound asleep, snoring loudly, he felt him with his hands and removed the belt that the boy had attached. The child was still awake, but the father did not know that his son was awake. Then the father arose and went out.

After his father had gone, the boy arose and followed behind and spied upon him. The father went down to Talimaitoga. There he picked up a bunch of canes and descended down (into the ground). Then he took the bunch of canes and replaced them over the entrance of the hole. But the boy had clearly seen the path down. The boy followed, and picking up the canes which concealed the hole he followed his father down to the lower regions.

When the boy arrived below, he found that his father had been working. A fire was blazing in the country, and there was plenty of food in the place. The boy climbed up a fruit tree, the kafikakai, and commenced eating its fruit, dropping down the fruit onto the ground. Then the father came and saw the fruit lying on the ground. Whereupon he sang this song,

"Mitikohi (a small black bird) eat worms, do not waste the fruit. Leave it and I will bring it up to my darling child who is above."



The boy came down from the tree and the father rushed at him. Then they struggled, the father swinging the boy off his feet and throwing him onto the ground. The boy arose and wrestled with his father once more. Again the father threw the boy to the ground. The boy felt that his body was hurt and when his father again rushed at him he thought that he was about to be killed. Then he gathered all his strength in order to conquer his parent, and when they wrestled he seized the father and threw him to the ground. Immediately the child rushed forward, and seizing the fire, he returned to the earth above.

When Maui the father saw his son (escaping) he cursed him thusly,

“Come down rain, come down rain, wet the fire and put it out.”

The son Maui put the fire on all the trees on the road. But the fires went out because they were drenched by the rain. Finally he put the fire on top of the banyan tree at Talimaitoga. When the father Maui came up he found the fire blazing in full force there, and he was unable to put out the flames. Then all the trees were burnt by the fire.

From that time on to this very day the fire remains blazing in all the trees of that place. If one goes out into the bush he can obtain fire by ploughing the wood of these trees. This is the name of the two sticks one uses; the [large] stick is called the *katuloga*, and the [small] stick is called the *katuhika*.

The food on this island tasted well indeed to Maui the father, it was for this reason that he cursed the Kanumea tree, one of the large trees of the bush. This tree was a king among all other trees; he cursed its sweet fruit and it became sour. The Atiu a small tree [which also grew in the bush]; this tree crept on the ground and it bore sweet tasting fruit, the fruit was cursed by Maui and it turned sour.

The Kape [a variety of giant talo] was cursed by Maui and it became bitter. Its meat was very large, and in the early days it tasted the same as talo. The red banana was beautiful when it grew upright; Maui cursed it and caused it to droop down. It droops down to this day.

#### KOE TALA KIA HINA

Ko Hina kua pehe a ia koe motu he lagi moe Atua haha i ai. Koe motu mitaki, kua nakai fai po. Koe motu he lagi koe motu aho hololoa. Kua nakai nofo a Hina he lalolagi. Kua hifo mai ni a ia kehe aho ka tai e pulele tika.

Koe tika a Hina koe tika uli. Kua tolo e tau tagata ke kitia he tika a Hina. Ti hake ni a Hina ulu a e mamata. Mua ia e tika a Hina.

Kua hoko kehe vaha ne liogi ai, ti kitia e lautolu e mafola. Ti pehe e taofi ha lautolu kua moli lahi e tau tala kia Hina. Ti uhu ai he taha toa e lologo, pehe,

“Koe motu a Hina, kua talolo he koe motu a Hina, kua talolo.”

Ko Vemoa ne uhu e lologo ia.

### THE STORY OF HINA

(Written by Uea of Alofi)

It was Hina who dwelt in the island in the sky [this island was also called *lagi tua-ua*, the second heaven] where the gods lived. It was a beautiful island, for it never grew dark there. It was an island in the sky, and it was an island of daylight never ending. Hina did not live on the earth, but she came down one day to throw in the game of *tika*.

The *tika* of Hina was a black *tika*, the people gathered together to see this *tika*. Hina went before the multitude who were looking on. Then the *tika* of Hina went the furthest of any.

When the time of Christianity came to the island, peace was brought to all. But the people still believed that the stories about Hina were indeed true, and one of the *toa* sang this song,

“This is the island of Hina, blessed be the island of Hina, blessed be the island of Hina.”

It was Vemoa who originated this song. [Vemoa was the grandfather of my informant Uea.]

### KOE TALA KIA MAKEFU

Ko Fitioutouto mo Kiliutamanogi koe fanau fīfine a Kalofakapaete mo Matafineiki. Ti nonofo i Tamahamua. Koe vaha la. Ti o hake ni ke tutu ki Mahei, ti magomago ni e tau tutu, ti tiaki ni ka e fafa ni e tau tutu, ti o ni he hala ki tokelau ki uta ke kumi magavai mo fuifui e tau tutu. Kua hoko ki Tukuofe. Ka e liogi fakahaga a laua he o he puhala, pehe, “Fetu, fetu mataputuputu.”

Pehe e liogi he taokete, “Uha ne to e toti, uha ne to e toti.”

Ka e tali atu pehe e liogi he tehina, “Fetu, fetu, mataputuputu holo lepa-hala kekekele, feai hake feai hifo, etivovo, etivovo, kai, kai, ao hega, Uha ne to mai vao.”

Ti fano e tehina, ka e vale e taokete he liogi. Ti pehe e tehina, “Ka e liogi foki ni a koe.” Ti liogi foki ni e taokete. Ati fano ne e tehina, mutu mai e lau futi, ati haga hifo. Kua lolofa mai tuai e vai he poko futi ia. Ti feai atu e tehina kehe taokete, kua puna tuai e vai mo liga kua tonuhia e liogi. Ti liliu hifo a laua ki Tamahamua moe fiafia.

Ka e nofo ni a Kalofakapaete i Muifonua, ti puaki hifo ni ke finage e hoana. Ka kua faitane tuai a Fitiutouto, ka e nofo noa e tehina. Ka e fano ni a Fitiutouto ke ahi he matua he puaki mai ke finage. Ka e nofo ni e tane mo e maa ko Kiliutamanogi. Kua po lima, ti liu mai kehe tane. Kua kitia e ia e tehina kua lili lauti kula tuai e tau hui, moe tau lima, ti kahoa lauti. Kua fakatufele tuai. Ti iloa ai ni he taokete e tane hana moe maa. Ati fano ni vetevete mai e tau taute ia he tehina, taute aki a ia, ti hifo ni ki Halagigie, ti hopo ni ki tahi, a mafuta he i ta lahi.

Ti iloa ni he tau matua i Muifonua kua folau tuai e tama, ti puaki vale mai ni kia Kiliutamanogi. Ti hopo ni e ate a Kiliutamanogi. Ti nofo ni a Kiliutamanogi moe kelea moe fakaatukehe. Ti uhu ni e ia e lologo,

“Tautifa na vae ka hau a koe ti gahu mai. Mata to he ono.”

Ti hau ni a Matafineiki moe nofo, ka e momoko ni he tama. Ti o mai e na manu o hifo he lagi ki tahi. Ti ui atu a ia kehe tau manu ia ke o mai a ia, ti hifo ni hopo ki tahi he mena ia ne hopo ai e tama. Ti kakau ka e fakatau ni kehe na manu ia, ti pouli ka e matakaki ni kehe ua manu ia. Ati kakau nati ofo a ia kua pakia tuai e hui he feo, ati kumi, ai kitia, ati kakau. Ti pakia foki, ti tu agataha e hui, ati kitia e ko e motu kua tu ai, ko Fonuagalo e motu ia. Ti puaki hake ni kehe tane, ko Kalofakafa ke hifo age, ti hifo ni e tane ki ai.

Ka e nofo ni a Kiliutamanogi he kaina ne kua kelea, ti fano ni hopo ki tahi, ti galo atu ai.

Ko Fonuagalo mo Vaihatuie tau higoa he motu ia.

#### THE STORY ABOUT MAKEFU

(Written by Hipa of Hikutavake)

Fitiutouto and Kiliutamanogi were the daughters of Kalofokapaete and Matafineiki. They lived at Tamahamua (Tamakautoga). In a period of drought they went up to beat out *hiapo* at Mahei. After they had dried out their *hiapo* they put it in bundles on their backs and carried it. Then they went inland on the north road looking for water in order to wash out the *hiapo*. As they went along the road to Tukuofe they prayed in this manner,

“Stars, stars, cluster of stars.”

The elder sister prayed, “Let a little rain fall, let a little rain fall.”

Then the younger sister joined in on the prayer, “Stars, stars, cluster of stars, fall down to the ground. Look up (to the sky)! Look down (on the fallen stars)! Come and look, come and look, it is like the breast of the *haga*! The rain will fall in the bush.”

Thus prayed the younger sister, but the elder sister was displeased at the prayer. Then the younger sister said, “You pray again.” So the elder



sister prayed, but the younger sister went and cut a banana leaf. Then water came out from the roots of the banana tree. The younger sister looked up at the elder sister, the water had sprung up and the prayer had no doubt been the correct one. After that they both turned back to Tamahamua and rejoiced.

Then the father Kalofakapaete, who had been staying in Tafiti sent word that his wife should come to him, for Fitiutouto had been married. But the younger sister remained at home unwed. Afterwards Fitiutouto was invited to return home and visit her parents; she came bringing her husband, who was the brother-in-law of Kiliutomanogi. After five days had passed Kiliutomanogi fell in love with the husband. Then the elder sister saw that her younger sister had covered up her feet and her hands with red leaves and that she wore a red necklace around her neck. She had become proud. But the elder sister at once understood about her husband and she felt humiliated. Fitiutouto went to her younger sister, and taking her ornaments off she put them on herself. Then she went down to the point at Halagigie and jumped into the sea. She never rose again to the surface, for she was very angry.

When the parents at Tafiti heard that their child had committed suicide they sent an angry message to Kiliutamanogi. (When Kiliutamanogi received the message) she was afraid. She continued to live, but she was sorely distracted. Then she made up this song,

“Tautifa when you come back again, whistle as you come. Your face is very beautiful.” [Ghosts in Niue were supposed to whistle in the same fashion as at Tonga.]

Matafineiki continued to live mourning for her child. Then two birds came and went down from the sky to the sea. The mother called for the birds to come to her, then she jumped into the sea at the place where her child had jumped, and swam following the birds.

When it became dark the woman lost sight of the birds, then as she was swimming she suddenly felt her foot strike coral. She searched, but not finding any land, she started to swim again. Once more the woman felt her foot striking something, this time she stood up in the water, and she saw that she was standing on an island. The name of the island was Fonuagalo. Then Matafineiki sent for her husband Kalofakafa to come to her and he came.

But Kiliutamanogi stayed back at home, and remained unconsolated. Finally she went down and jumped into the sea, where she died.

Fonuagalo (this missing island) and Vaihatui are the two names of the island.

KOE TALA KIA FOUFOU

Ko Foufou koe pule a Avatele he vaha pouli ke he vaha a Galiaga mo Mohelagi. Ti mahekeheke e motu moe kumi a ia ke tamate. Kae ai moua. Koe hana atua ko Leloloa. No hola fano a ia he vao moe hu he ana ne uka e motu he kumi. He hu ne talaage a ia kehe hana atua ko Aleloloa, pehe,

“Koe loa e alelo, ne telo aki e tau mena kai he motu, ati kua to tuai e tau la, kua mamate e tau mena kai ai, to ha uha hoge lahi e motu.”

Kae hu a Foufou he ana i Tuipaua. Ka koe hana atua ne o fano mo ia, koe kufani ka hu he ana. Kua tia he kufani e kupega he gutu ana. Ti o e faoa ke kumi ne ha he gutu ana, ti manatu ai ha i ai taha. Laga loga ne o ke kumi ke ana ia ko Tuipaua. Kae ai moua, ha kua tia ai he kufani e kupega.

Ti to ai e tau lā he motu, nakai to ha uha, ti to ai e mauku, hoge e motu, ti tupu lahi ai e matematekelea he motu, he nakai fai mena kai, ti tiaki, ai kumi. Ka e nofo ai a Foufou he ana, moe kai ai e tau fua kafika, ko e akau ia ne tu he gutuana, ti mokulu hifo e tau fua ki loto he ana, ti kai ai e ia.

Ti kumi he motu poke higoa e mena ne tupu ai e hoge moe tau la, ka e nakai kitia e mena ne to ai e tau la he motu. Ti taha e tagata taulaatua (Togulu) ne nofo i Tamahamua, ne fakekite e mena ne tupu ai e matematekelea kehe motu. Pehe a ia, “Koe tagata ne hu he ana, ne malia ai he motu.”

Kua o a Tafiti moe oaki mai a ia he ana. Ti liogi, pehe a ia,

Hake mai ha lanu,  
Ti hake mai ha tafetelei,  
Ti hake mai ha talatuakahi,  
Hakai mai kakaimoana,  
Hake mai ha ika nakai fai higoa.  
Ke lanu aki e akau-fakalava kehe iki.

Ti to ai e uha. Kua muhu mena ai e fonua. Kua loga ai moe tau manu. Kua totolo e tau manu he kekekele. Kua hake mai e lanu he tau ika. Lahi e monuina he motu. Kua momoui e tau tagata, kua fiafia e motu.

Ne fifili e Foufou moe tau patu a Tafiti moe Matahefonua taha tagata ke eke iki, hakua mahu e motu. Ko Galiaga ha ia. Ti tolo ai e tau patu ke fakauku ia ia i Paluki. Kua hake ai foki mo Foufou. Ti uhu ai e Foufou hana lologo kehe aho ne fakauku ai a Galiaga,

Tepa mo Nukulafalafa,  
Kau fano ke falanaki ai.

Vete i luga, ti vete i lalo,  
 Lautā he aho ka hake mai  
 Mo talu fofola kehe tau iki e  
 He na mata tiale o Avatele.

Mo talu fofola kehe tau iki e,  
 Hilikeihi,  
 Fakailikula,  
 Nukufagamea,  
 Talahokoia.  
 Mana he akau mulu fai hau ai moe tau iki.  
 Kua to au ki moana, e.

### THE STORY OF FOUFOU

(Written by Totene of Avatele)

Foufou ruled at Avatele in heathen times during the period of Galiaga and Mohelagi. The Motu people were jealous of him and sought to slay him. But they did not find him. His guardian spirit was the god Leloloa (Long Tongue). Foufou fled and entered the bush and concealed himself in the different caves so as to make it difficult for the island to find him. He besought his god, asking of him thusly,

"Long is thy tongue so that it may suck in and eat of the food of the island. Let a drought come and kill all the eatable things of the island. Let no rain fall, but let the island starve."

Then Foufou entered the cave at Tuipaua, and his god went with him in the form of a spider. Then the spider wove his web at the mouth of the cave. When the people came to search there was a spider web at the mouth of the cave, so they thought that there could be no one inside. The people came often to search the cave at Tuipaua, but they found no one, because the spider had woven his web.

Then there developed a drought on the island, no rain fell. It was a great calamity, the island starved and suffered greatly, for there was nothing to eat. Then the people abandoned their search. But Foufou remained in the cave and ate the fruit of the *kafika*, this was a tree that grew at the mouth of the cave. The fruit fell down into the cave and he ate of it.

The island sought to find out the cause of the famine and the drought, but they could not find out what prevented the rain from falling. A *taula-atua* of Tamakautoga, Togulu by name, then showed them the cause of their suffering. He said, "There is a man that entered a cave and has cursed the island."

So Tafiti went and brought Foufou from out of his cave. Then Foufou prayed thus:



Bring up a multitude of fish, bring up the whale,  
 Bring up the *talatuakahi* [a large grey backed fish].  
 Bring up all the fish in the sea,  
 Bring up the fish that have no names,  
 Let all the fish come to the canoe of the king.

Then the rain fell and there was abundance in the land. The island became crowded with animals, some crawled over the land, and others swarmed in the sea. Great was the blessing that fell upon the island. The people of the island lived and rejoiced.

Foufou and the chiefs of Tafari and Motu then appointed a man to be *patuwiki*, because there was abundance on the island. Galiaga was the name of that man. The chiefs gathered to anoint him at Paluki. Foufou also came there, and on the day on which the Galiaga was anointed he sang this song,

Tepa and Nukulafalafa,  
 I go and rest myself there.  
 Clear the top, and clear the bottom of the road.  
 The father day has come<sup>31</sup>  
 O, to greet the chiefs  
 At the sandy beach of Avatele.<sup>32</sup>  
 O, to greet the chiefs,  
 Hilikeihi,  
 Fakailikula,  
 Nukufagamea,  
 Talahokoia.  
 There is mana in my club, for all the chiefs came.  
 Now I fall into the sea.

#### TALA KIA HINA MO MOKO-FULU-FULU

Ti nofo a Hina he lagi, ne ua e tama a Hina. Ti fekau ke o hifo mai ke uta afi mai kia Moko-fulu-fulu he lagi tua-taha. Ti eke fakakelea a Moko-fulu-fulu e taokete. Ti tala age e fanau ke age taha afi ma laua, kae o hake neke po. Ti pehe a Moko-fulu-fulu "Falaala mai e ulu." Ti faala he taokete, e ulu, kae lili e tehina e tau lau ulu he pou, kua mau. Ti oho atu kehe afi, uta, ti fehola hake kehe lagi. Ti matike a Moko-fulu-fulu, kua mau tuai e ulu he lili he pou.

Ti o hake kehe matua, ti pehe e matua, "Ne mule ai a mua? Ti pehe e tehina kua holia tuai, e tagata na ho kuma mo veka."

Ti taute e Hina e lagatau ke hake age a Moko-fulu-fulu ke hoana e tama, kua e toua ke finage ai. Ti hake a Moko-fulu-fulu. Ti pehe e kupu, "Aite, i koe au la hoko hake ke nofo hinai." Ti tamai e Hina e

<sup>31</sup> Father day came before daybreak, son day after daybreak.

<sup>32</sup> *Mata tiale*, a common name for the white sandy beach at Avatele, its whiteness being compared to the tiale flower.

toki hio aki e toua, ti to hifo a Moko-fulu-fulu kua malipilipi, ti hunoko moe ulu, ti mate a ia.

## THE STORY OF HINA AND MOKO-FULU-FULU

(Written by Falani of Lakepa)

Hina lived in the second heaven, and she had two children. She sent these children down to the first heaven to get fire from Moko-fulu-fulu. Then Moko-fulu-fulu mistreated the elder sister. After this the children asked (the chief) for fire, so that they might return up before it became dark. But Moko-fulu-fulu said, "Take the insects from my head." The elder sister removed the insects, while the younger sister tied his hair to a post, then he was firmly attached. Then they rushed for the fire, seized it, and fled to the upper heaven. Moko-fulu-fulu tried to rise, but his hair was tied to the post.

When they arrived up to their mother, she asked, "Why are you so late?" The elder sister replied, "O, we have disobeyed, we are like the rat and the *veka*."

Then Hina made a plan for Moko-fulu-fulu to come up and marry her daughter, and a rope was let down for him to come up on. When Moko-fulu-fulu arrived up, he said these words, "O! This is the first chance that I have had to come up and live here." But Hina fetched an axe and cut the rope. Then Moko-fulu-fulu fell down and was cut to pieces, his head was so badly bruised that he died.

## KO E TALA KIA HUANAKI, KO E TUPUA, MO E TAMA HANA, KO TAFEAHEMOANA

Ti latau ni a laua, ti hola ai e tama mo e hifo a ia mo e folau ki moana ke mate. Ti kitia ai e ia e tau mena tea, kua fehola he moana, mo e lele fano he kili moana. Ti matakutaku ai a Tafeahemoana mo e liu mai a ia ki uta. Kua manatu a ia ke kitia e tau mena tea ne lele he moana.

Ti ta ai e ia e taha vaka, ti mau, ti hifo ai a ia mo e hulu e moana, he pouli afiafi tote. Ati kitia ai e ia, ko e tau ika, ti poki ai e ia e tau ika loga, ti liu hake a ia. Ti mai ai e ia e tau ika he vaka kia Lageiki, ti matakutaku ai e Lageiki he mata pupula e tau ika. Ti tunu ai e laua e tau ika he afi, ti kai ai e lautolu, ka e kai fakanamunamu ni a Lageiki he matakutaku he mata pupula e tau ika. Ka e kai lahi ni a Huanaki mo Tafeahemoana. Koe fakafeiloaga ia a Huanaki moe tama ko Tafeahemoana.

Ko e kamataaga haia he ta vaka he motu nai, mo e ama aki e tau ika he moana, ke hoko mai ke he vaha nai.

## THE STORY OF HUANAKI, A GOD, AND HIS SON TAFEAHEMOANA

(Written by Leotuki of Alofi)

The two gods had a fight, and the son went down to kill himself by committing suicide in the sea. Then he saw some white things which were running in the water, and floating on the surface of the sea. Tafeahemoana became afraid and returned back to the shore. Presently he thought that he would have a look at the white things that were floating on the surface of the sea.

So he made a boat, and when it was finished he went down with a light to the sea, because it was already a little dark, being towards evening. Then he found out that (the white objects) were fish, he caught a lot of them, and turned back again. He offered the fish from out of his boat to Lageiki, but Lageiki was afraid of the fish because their eyes were so bright. Then they cooked the fish in the fire, and ate of them. Lageiki ate of them very cautiously, because he was afraid of the bright eyes of the fish; but Huanaki and Tafeahemoana ate greedily. After that Huanaki and his son Tafeahemoana were great friends.

This was the beginning of making canoes on the island, and of going to seek fish in the sea. This custom has lasted down to the present day.

## SONGS

## KO E "ULU LOLOGO O MALETOA" A SONG COMPOSED BY MALETOA

(Taken from Smith, corrected and translated by Uea of Alofi)

Tulai ô, puipui ô,

Tagaloa ho motu ka tofatofa

Tofatofa i a Tui-Niuē.

He pu mo e fonu ko e ika tapu,

Na he moana fakalanu.

He mata kai touā.

Come here, come here [the chief thus summons the people]

Tagaloa thy island be blessed [beginning of song]

Blessed be the king of Niue.

The shark and the turtle are sacred fish,  
The two swim in the sea.The two are the best of all [words used in *tika* throwing].

Tagaloa ho lagi mamao ē ē ē

He uhila kua lapa mai pogipogi,

To uhu ke liogina,

Takina a Toga ki hona motu

Neke puhia ho Motu-te-fua.

Tagaloa thy sky is far off,

The lightning flashes in the morning,

Then pray and wail.

Take the stranger to his own island,

Lest he break the laws of Motu-te-fua  
[Niue, "island by itself"].



Tagaloa ho lagi mamao ē ē ē, puipui ō.  
Pule a Tafai he moana, puipui ō

Koe pile a Tafai he moana,  
Ka ua hala ke he lagi

Ka takina hifo ki ho fale-takitaki he  
fonua,  
Ko na e liua, ō ō ō.

Ko Paluki ke vagahau tupua  
To tu lotoga ai e fonua  
Ao fonua ke he tafua

Ka e tua-fonua ki Fale-una  
Ka ko e tapakau mai Hala-kula,

Fakanofu ki luga o kafe kūla.

He atua he ko Lava-ki-umata, puipui ō.  
Atua he ko Lava-ki-umata  
To hifo ho aga tau matau,  
Hifo punutia e tu tavaha  
Tokona a Toga neke hake mai,  
Ke puhia a Motu-te-fua nai.

To galulu ki lagi e uha loa

Melekina ki ho atu faituga,

Maama ke malolo hifo ai  
He mana ne tagi he lagi haviilivili.

Tagaloa ho motu ka akihia

Kua fakatino aki e mahina,

Ke alito aki a Liua-lagi.  
Tagaloa ho lagi mamao, ē ē ē, puipui ō.  
Leo ui Fiti Kaga he tupua

Kua hake he tumuaki fonua.  
Na hui ata ko e iki tapu,

Neke lakafia he tupua, tau valovalokiu.

Kua hala ki tu, kua hala ki fonua.  
Koe e taitai; puipui o.  
Haliki tu hala ki fonua taitai,

To nuia ha pia,  
Mai e lau lanu maka.

Tagaloa thy sky is far away,  
The shark rules the seas [the *tauifa*, or  
red man-eating shark].

The shark rules the seas.  
It is on the road to the skies [the rain-  
bow, Tagaloa],  
Down which mana comes to the house  
of the king of the land,  
It is coming.

Paluki is talked of by the gods,  
It stands in the middle of the land,  
The front of the land is above the  
waves,  
But the back of the land is at Fale-una.  
But the wings are the shade of the  
evening sun,  
Like the top of the red *kafe* [headdress].

The god of Lava-ki-umata (the eyelid)  
The god of Lava-ki-umata  
Come down on the right side,  
Come down and block up the horizon.  
Stop the stranger from coming here,  
Lest he break the laws of Motu-te-fua.

The long pattering of rain from the  
skies  
It comes down well on the *mata fai tuga*  
[shower of rain, *mana*, falls on the  
sacrificing grounds].  
The light comes strongly down,  
The mana falls from the sky like rain  
falling,  
The rainbow will take the rain from the  
island.  
The moon is an idol,

It is the kernel of Liua-lagi.  
Tagaloa thy sky is far away.  
Fiti Kaga is the dwelling place of the  
god Leo Ui,  
When he goes up to the top of the land.  
The right foot of the king is sacred.  
[An *iki* was approached on the left  
side.]  
Keep the mana of the enemy from us,  
fight bravely.

The road which leads to the land,  
He is a good provider.  
He stands in the road of the land, and  
is a good provider.  
He washes the *pia*,  
He takes the poison out of the *pia*.

E mana tapu iki-i,  
Ka takina kai havilivili.  
Hau ha kalī, hau ha liaki,  
Hau ha kalī, hau ha liaki,  
To takoto anoano i he lagi afa tō,  
To ke mimio i Matagitu  
Mafuike tagi ia Līua ō, puipui ō.

The mana of the king is tapu.  
The wind makes the rain come down.  
Come that way, come this way,  
Come that way, come this way,  
Lie down in the sky, after the sun sets.  
Make a whirlwind in Matagitu.  
The earthquake cries Līua ō.

Hau ha kalī, hau ha liaki ha afa to,  
Toki mimio i Mataitu,  
Hulugia mafuike tagi ia Līua, ui-ou.

Come that way, come this way after  
sun set,  
Make a whirl wind in Mataitu  
The mirror of the earthquake cries  
Līua.

# KO E TALA KE HE HUKI NIU MO E HUKI KAU

Monū Tagaloa!  
Timata ai lele  
Kolomata e tama, ti ua loluga.

Monū ho inu ē ē ē ēī.  
E Huanaki-tau, Huanaki-tupua  
Monū ho inu ē ē ē ēī.  
E Fao-tu-nuku. E Fao-matavalu,  
E Fao-tikitiki.  
E Fiti-ki-tupua, e fiti ki la,  
Monu ho inu ē ē ē ēī.

E Tali-mai-nuku, E Leo-matagi,

He fakaeteete he malētoa.  
Monu ho inu ē ē ē ēī.  
Monu ho inu ē ē ē ēī.  
E Tu-tau mo Tulaga momole,

Monū ho inu ē ē ē ēī.  
E Lage-iki e fai he moana.  
Monū ho inu ē ē ē ēī.  
E Tupua-kiu E Tupua-lage.  
Monū ho inu ē ē ē ēī.  
E Tama-hei-tau, mo Taufua-o-atua.

Monū ho inu ē ē ē ēī.

## PRAYER SONG

(Taken from Smith, corrected and  
translated by Uea of Alofi)

"Bless Tagaloa!  
Let my eyes be keen.  
If the child falls down, he must rise  
again (the sun).  
Bless thy drink.  
Huanaki fight, Huanaki the god.  
Bless thy drink.  
Fao standing alone, Fao with eight eyes,  
Fao marking the *hiapo* cloth.  
The flower of the god, the flower there,  
Bless thy drink.

Tali-mai-nuku (Wait-for-land) and Leo  
-matagi,

Dancing on the war place.

Bless thy drink.

Bless thy drink.

Tu-tau (War-god) and Tulaga-momole  
(God-of-curse).

Bless thy drink.

Lage-iki rules over the sea.

Bless thy drink.

The plover is a god, the god of the sky.

Bless thy drink.

Tama-hei-tau (War-god) and Taufua  
(Whale) are gods.

Bless thy drink.

<sup>83</sup> Sung when piercing a coconut for determining omens, before piercing the troops [in war].

E Lua-tupua, E Lua-fakakana-niu,

Tui-toga ho motu ka fofa hake.  
Tuanaki ho motu mafiti vave,

Mo mole, mo mole.  
Fakaoti falō ki tua na motu ē.  
He motu e iki mo e Tagaloa.  
Ne fefutiaki e talia.  
Mo mole, mo mole,  
Fano fakaoti falō ki tua hana motu ē ē.

### TU LA I O

Tagaloa ho motu kotofatofa, ti mafola  
ia tu i.  
Niue hafagina vaha ke hake mai.

#### Chorus

Pu mo e fonu ko e ika tapu ia he  
moana.  
Tagaloa ho lagi mamao ē.

He uhila kua lapa tata mai, fatiia ho  
la tavahi mata,

Pogipogi to uhu ke liogi.

#### Chorus.

Pu mo e fonu etc.

Tagaloa ho motu ke tofatofa tapu ia he  
moana,  
Tagaloa he lagi mamao ē. Lapa uhila  
lapa kua toga,

Uluola tapu kia Tagaloa,  
Fakatoka ke hataki e fono, ke alito aki  
e liualagi.

#### Chorus.

Pu mo e fonu, etc.

Maui tu taha i Paluki, ke takono e  
lagi kua mamao.

#### Chorus.

Pu mo e fonu, etc.

Lua is a god and Lua-put-fat-in-coco-  
nuts<sup>83</sup>

Tui-toga your island turns up.  
He thinks the island will rise up  
quickly,

Do it right away.  
Do it and turn back to your own island.  
The island of the king and of Tagaloa.  
Take away the famine,  
Do it right away,  
Be finished with it, and go back to  
your own island.

### SONG OF WELCOME<sup>84</sup>

(Translated by Uea of Alofi)

All come together, all come together!

Tagaloa thy island be blessed, Niue is  
always at peace when you come,  
Niue opens up when you come.

#### Chorus.

The turtle and the shark are sacred  
fish that dwell in the ocean.  
O Tagaloa from the far off sky.

The lightning has suddenly played,  
shattered is the green tavahi [a  
strong tree].

In the morning let us wail and pray.

#### Chorus.

The turtle and the shark, etc.

O Tagaloa thy land is sacredly blessed  
in the sea.

Tagaloa thy sky is far away. The  
lightning played, it played from  
the south.

O sacred and powerful head of Tagaloa,  
Thou makest strong laws and enforce  
them, they are as sacred as the  
second heaven.

#### Chorus.

The turtle and the shark, etc.

O, Maui who stands in Paluki, from  
dwelling in the sky far away.

#### Chorus.

The turtle and the shark, etc.

<sup>84</sup> These verses are sung by the old people of Niue when a distinguished visitor arrives. It was sung in honor of Mr. Seddon, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, and printed by him in a translation that does not conform to the views of the old men of Niue.



Ati`kula mo e hina Tagaloa ne alito  
aki e fonua galo.

Chorus.

Pu mo e fonu, etc.

Niu tu ei Tonatonamohola agi valu e  
matagi ke haia.

Chorus.

Pu mo e fonu, etc.

Red and white thou art, O Tagaloa,  
precious one from the lost country.

Chorus.

The turtle and the shark, etc.

The coconut tree stands at Tonato-  
namokuola [a breezey spot on Niue]  
where the eight winds of heaven  
converge.

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*A*



*B*



*C*

VIEWS OF NIUE: *A*, SHORE LINE NORTH OF ALOFI; *B*, THE VILLAGE OF AVATELE; *C*, ROAD THROUGH VAO, INTERIOR OF THE ISLAND.





PORTRAITS OF FULL-BLOODED NATIVE MEN OF NIUE.



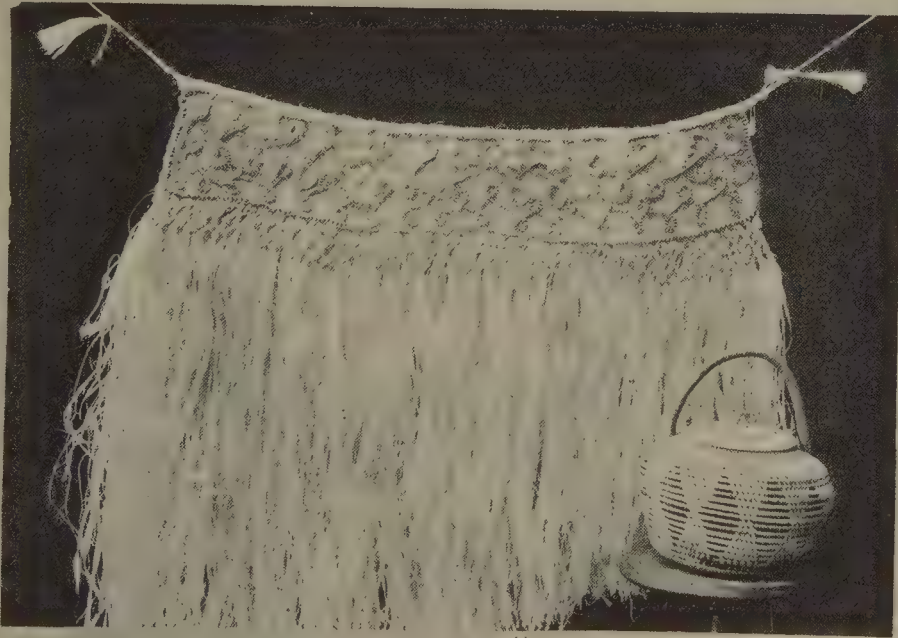
PORTRAITS OF FULL-BLOODED NATIVE WOMEN OF NIUE.



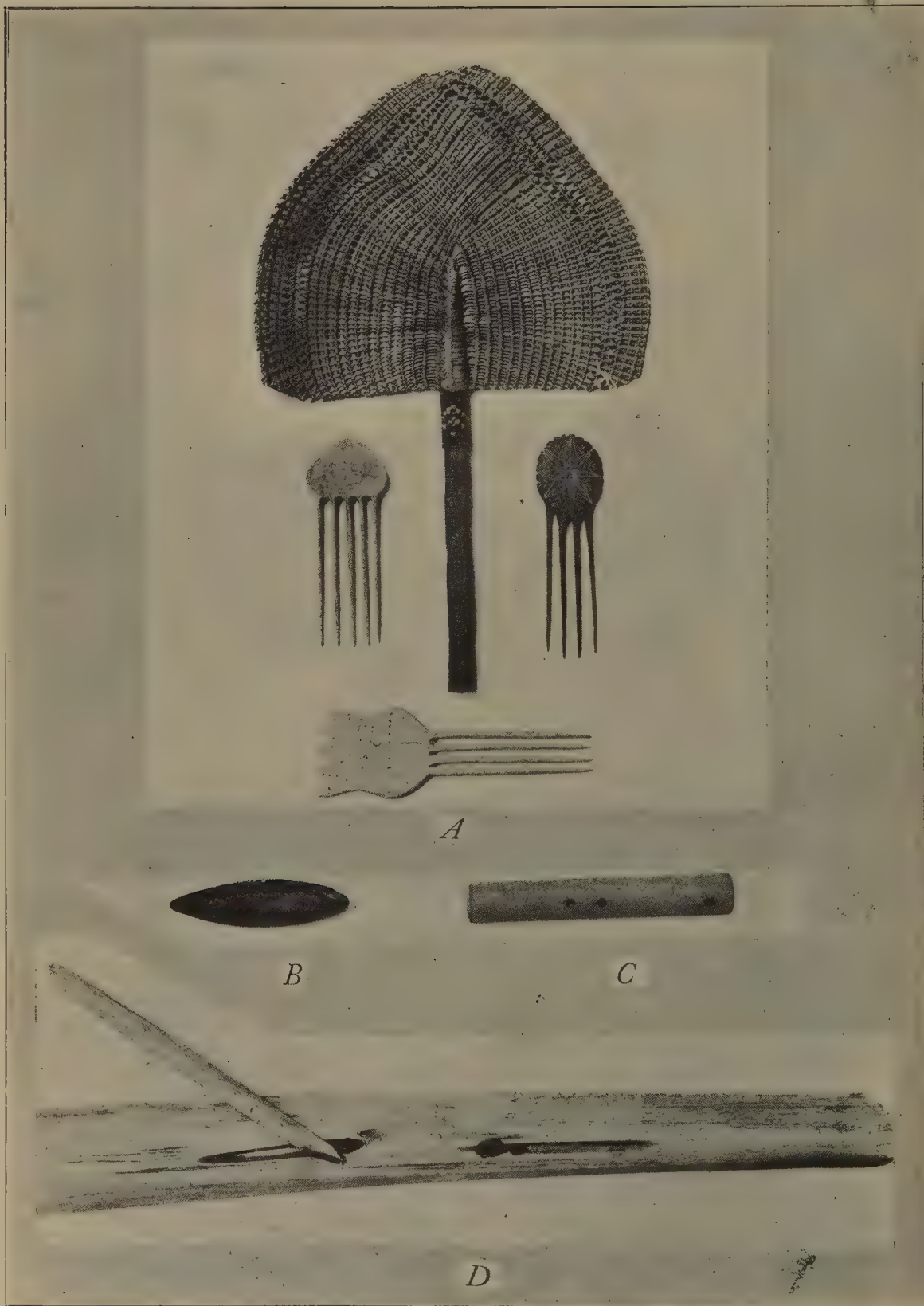


HOUSES OF NIEUE: *A*, FRAME WORK AND THATCH OF HOUSE ROOFED WITH COCONUT FIBER; *B*, HOUSE ROOFED WITH SUGAR CANE; *C*, MODEL OF OLD STYLE HOUSE.

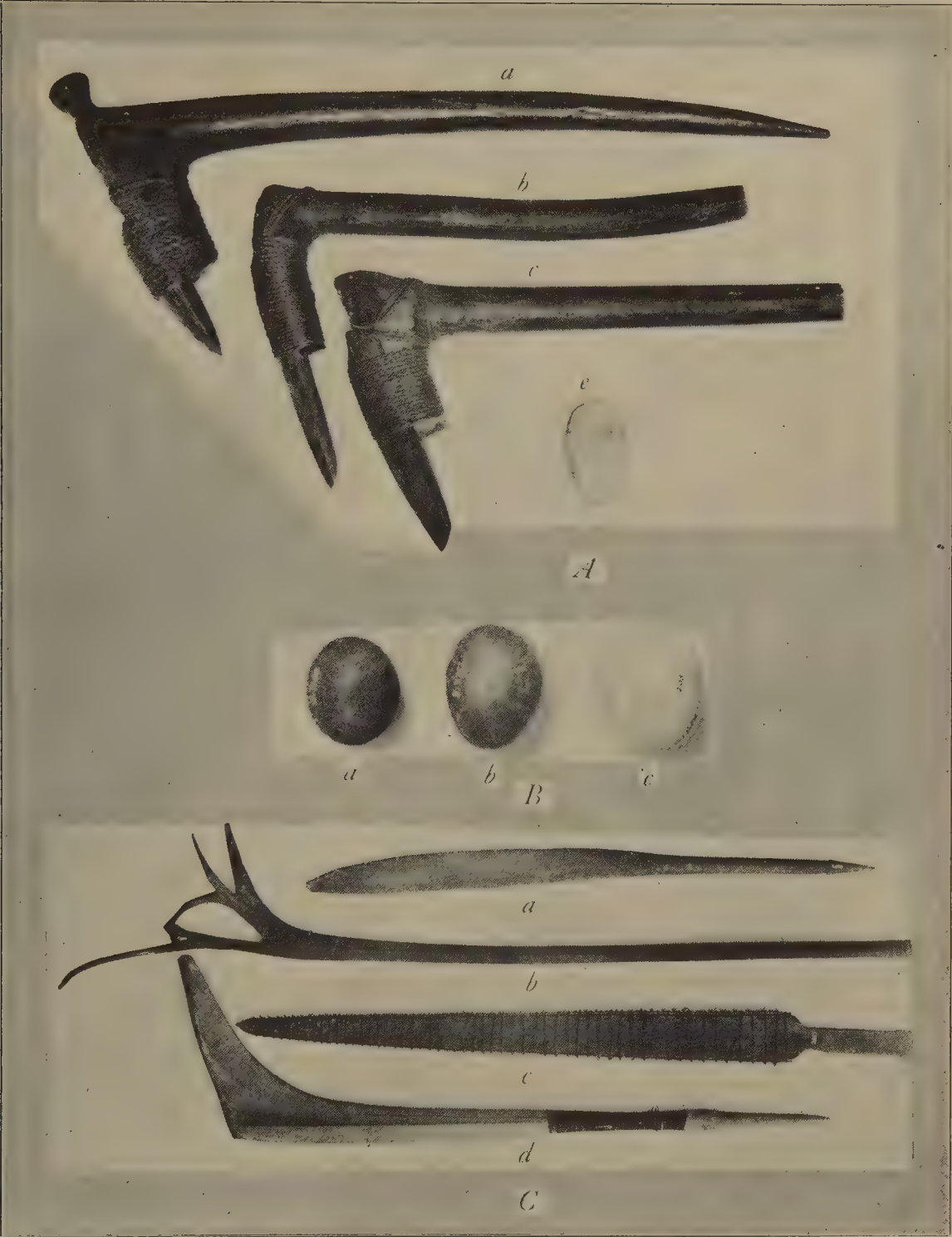


*A**B**C*

EXAMPLES OF NIEUAN WORKMANSHIP: *A*, MODEL OF OLD STYLE FOUR-SEATED CANOE (VAKA-HEKE-FA), DIMENSIONS OF ORIGINAL—LENGTH, 26 FEET, 8 INCHES; GIRTH, 5 FEET, 6 INCHES; LENGTH OF OUTRIGGER, 10 FEET, 8 INCHES; *B*, HAIR GIRDLE (KAFA), LENGTH, 32 INCHES, MADE OF 28 BRAIDS; *C*, MODERN SKIRT OR GIRDLE (TITI) AND BASKET (KATO).

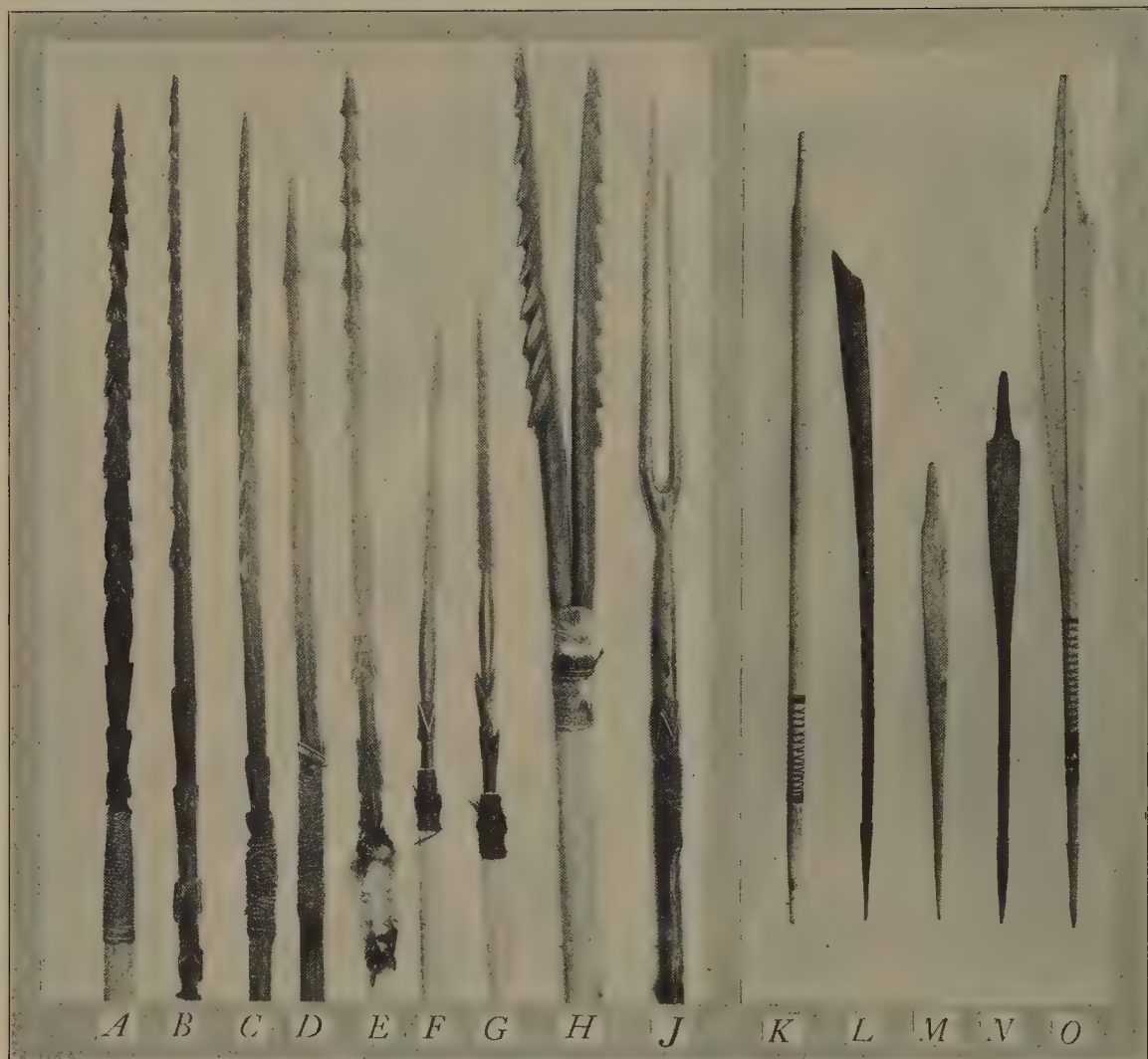


MISCELLANEOUS ARTIFACTS: *A*, FAN (ILILI), HANDLE ABOUT SEVEN INCHES LONG, AND COMBS (HETU) MADE OF OLUOLU WOOD AFTER A DESIGN WHICH IS PROBABLY SAMOAN; *B*, MODEL OF TOTAMOTU; *C*, NOSE FLUTE, LENGTH 6 INCHES; *D*, FIRE-MAKING STICKS.

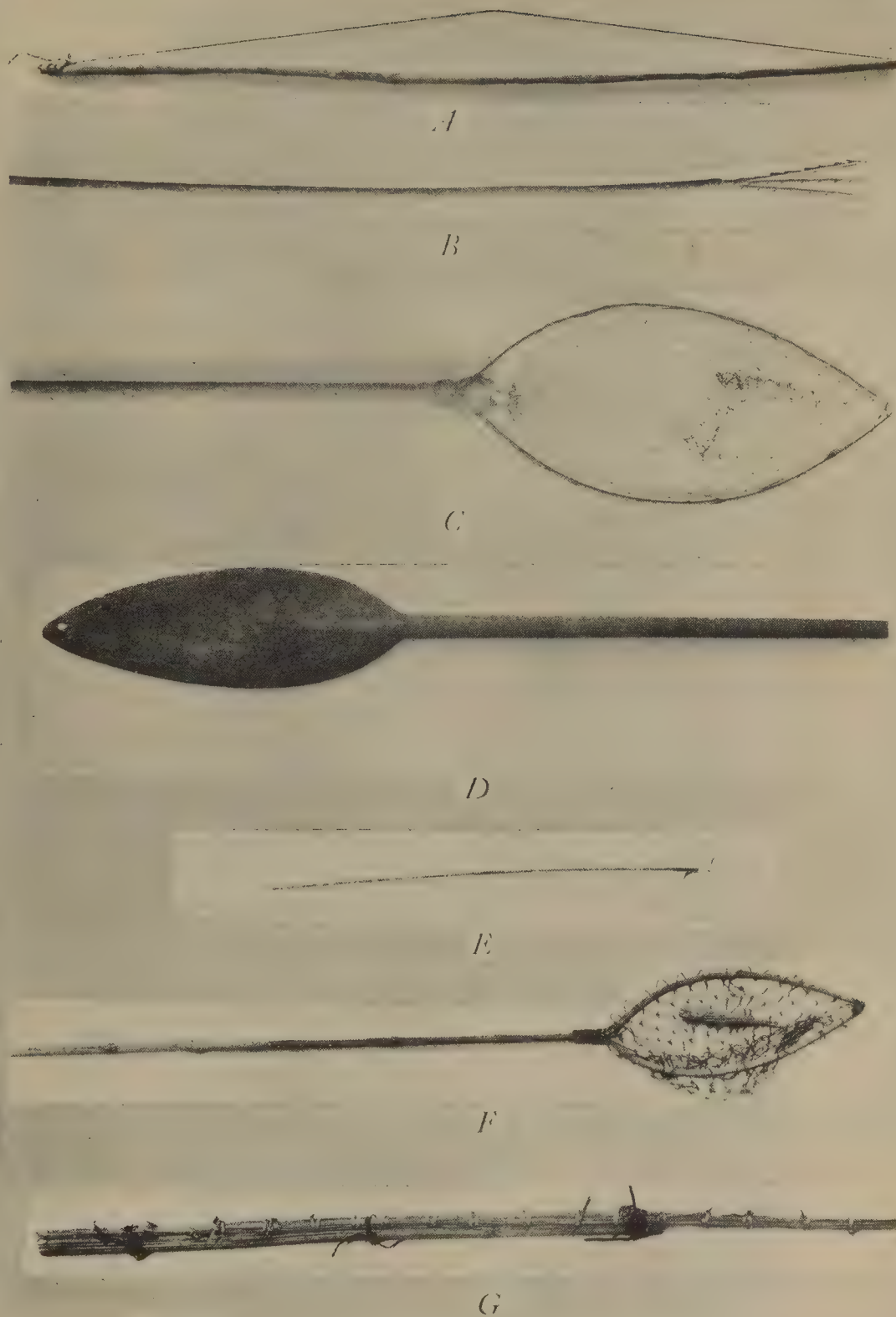


ADZES AND WAR IMPLEMENTS: *A*, ADZES (TOKI), *a*, JADE ADZ, LENGTH OF HAFT, 22 INCHES, *b*, *c*, BLACK STONE ADZES (TOKI MAKU ULU), *e*, HEAD OF SHELL ADZ (TOKI GEEGEE); *B*, THROWING STONES, *a*, *b*, OF VOLCANIC ROCK (MAKAULI), *c*, OF STALACTITE (MAKA-POUPOU-ANA); *C*, WAR CLUBS, *a*, CLEAVING CLUB (GUTU-MEA), *b*, ORNAMENTAL CLUB FORMED FROM TREE ROOTS, *c*, CLEAVING CLUB OF SHARK TOOTH, LENGTH 3 FEET, 5 INCHES (BISHOP MUSEUM COLLECTION), *d*, CLEAVING CLUB (AKAUFEUA).

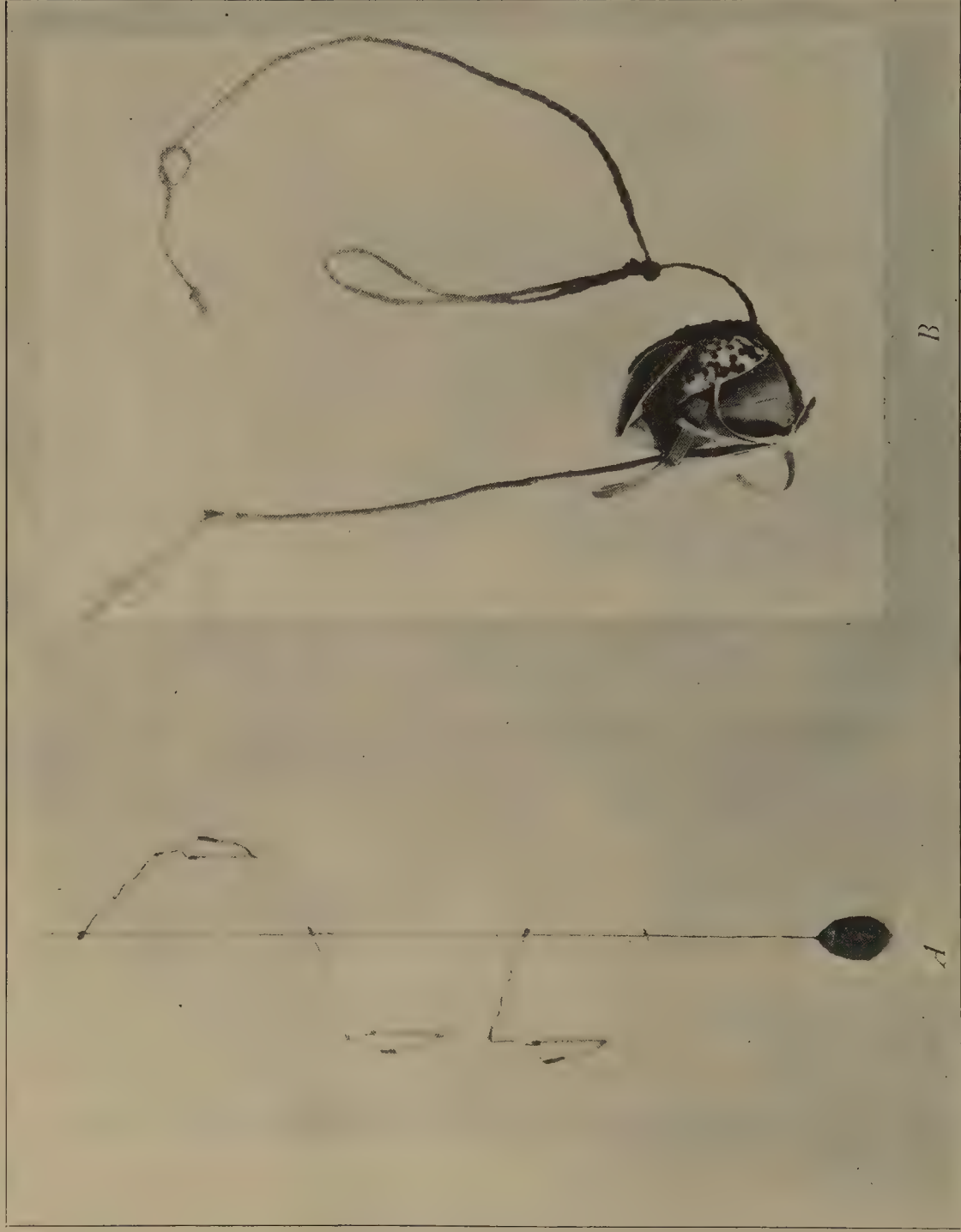




SPEARS AND CLUBS: *A*, FOUR-BARBED SPEAR (TAO HOEHOE [?]), LENGTH OF HEAD 20 INCHES; *B*, THREE-BARBED SPEAR (TAO HAUFUA [?]); *C*, FOUR-BARBED SPEAR, WORN SPECIMEN; *D*, THREE-BARBED SPEAR; *E*, TWO-BARBED SPEAR WITH MANUMEA ORNAMENTATION; *F*, *G*, MODELS OF THREE-BARBED SPEAR; *H*, TWO-PRONGED SPEAR (TAO-MATAUA) NEWLY MADE; *J*, FORKED SPEAR (TAO-MAGA) PROBABLY FROM NIUE; *K*, CLEAVING CLUB (KATOUA) WITH MANUMEA ORNAMENTATION; *L*, SMALL CLUB (ULUPUKU) USED IN DANCING; *M*, CLUB PROBABLY EARLY FORM OF *L*; *N*, CLEAVING CLUB RESEMBLING THE GUTU-MEA EXCEPT FOR SHAPE OF TOP; *O*, AN ULU-FUAMITI, LENGTH, 7 FEET, 2 INCHES.

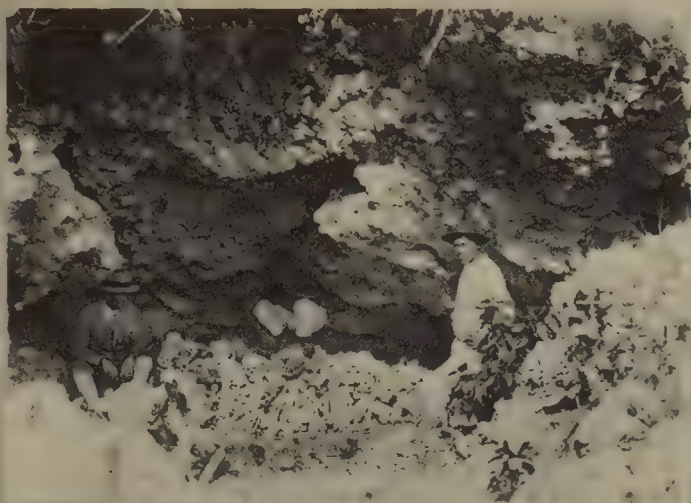


IMPLEMENTS USED IN CATCHING FOOD: *A*, BOW, LENGTH 4 FEET, 9 INCHES; *B*, ARROW, STAFF 5 FEET, 3 INCHES, POINTS  $7\frac{1}{2}$  INCHES LONG; *C*, BIRD NET, STAFF 3 FEET, 5 INCHES LONG, MADE OF FOU WOOD, HEAD, 2 FEET, 7 INCHES LONG, MADE OF TWO KAFIKA STICKS, AND ALLOWS FOR FOLDING, NET MADE OF OVAVA ROOT; *D*, PADDLE (FOHE) OF TOI WOOD, LENGTH 59 INCHES; *E*, BIRD SNARE, SHAFT 1 FOOT LONG, MADE FROM COCONUT TWIG, SENNIT LOOP 3 INCHES LONG; *F*, MODEL OF FISH NET; *G*, MODEL OF FISH TORCH.



FISHING APPARATUS: *A*, FISH HOOK, LINE, AND SINKER, LENGTH OF SINKER





*A*



*B*



*C*

*A*, BURIAL CAVE FOR COMMON PEOPLE; *B*, NATIVES DANCING THE OLD STYLE TAME; *C*, NATIVES SINGING AT ALOFI.



A



B



C

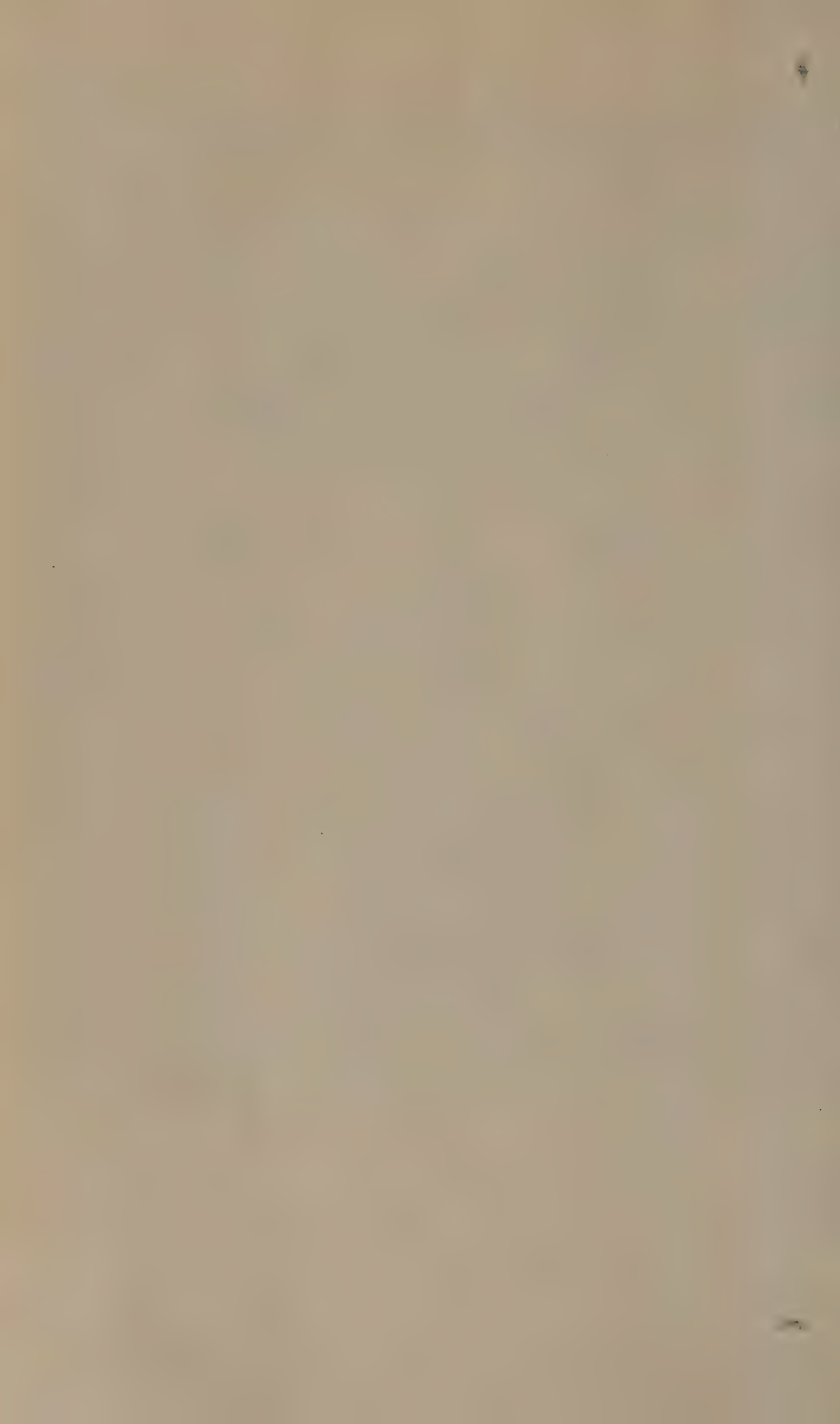
A, B, NATIVES DANCING THE MODERN TAME AT HIKUTAVAKI; C, REPRESENTATION OF THE GOD LIMAUA.

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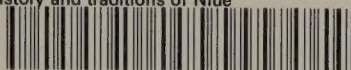
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